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SELECTIONS FROM PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA MAGAZINES

American Consulate General
Hong Kong, B. C. C.

March 24-31, 1975

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Unless otherwise indicated, these materials are full translations of articles appearing in People's Republic of China periodicals.

Quotations from Chairman Mao

Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation.

Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, there being the eight-grade wage system, etc. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus it would be quite easy for people like Lin Piao to push the capitalist system if they come to power. Therefore, we should read some more Marxist-Leninist works.

Read and study seriously, and have a good grasp of Marxism.

With victory, certain moods may grow within the Party--arrogance, the airs of a self-styled hero, inertia and unwillingness to make progress, love of pleasure and distaste for continued hard living. With victory, the people will be grateful to us and the bourgeoisie will come forward to flatter us. It has been proved that the enemy cannot conquer us by force of arms. However, the flattery of the bourgeoisie may conquer the weak-willed in our ranks.

The Chinese revolution is great, but the road after the revolution will be longer, the work greater and more arduous. This must be made clear now in the Party. The comrades must be helped to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be helped to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle.

* * *

Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 3, March 1, 1975)

Editor's Note by Jen-min Jih-pao and Hung-ch'i:

Our great leader Chairman Mao recently gave an important instruction on the question of theory.

Chairman Mao said: Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation.

Speaking of the socialist system, Chairman Mao said: In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation she was much the same as capitalism. Even now she practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution to each according to his work and exchange by means of money, which are scarcely different from those in the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has changed. Chairman Mao pointed out: Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, there being the eight-grade wage system, etc. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus it would be quite easy for people like Lin Piao to push the capitalist system if they come to power. Therefore, we should read some more Marxist-Leninist works.

Chairman Mao also pointed out: Lenin said, "Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale." This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life.

Chairman Mao's instruction profoundly expounds the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and indicates the utmost importance of the study of the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat at present. This should draw top attention among the comrades of the whole Party and the people of the whole country.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction, we have selected and compiled part of the expositions by Marx, Engels and Lenin on the dictatorship of the proletariat for everybody to study. First of all, the leading cadres should be in the van in studying these quotations well and they should conscientiously study the principal works on the dictatorship of the proletariat by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman

Mao. At the same time, it is necessary to organize the Party members, cadres and the broad masses to study them well. We should fully grasp the tremendous current significance and the far-reaching historical significance of Chairman Mao's instruction.

It is a major matter of combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat for the hundreds of millions of people throughout the country to study and master the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party committees at all levels should firmly and effectively grasp the study of the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, more consciously implement the Party's basic line and policies, achieve greater success in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, and continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

No credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society, nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production, 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society.

Marx to J. Weydemeyer (March 5, 1852)

Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

Karl Marx: Critique of the Gotha Program (April-early May 1875)

This Socialism is the declaration of the permanence of the revolution, the class dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of class distinctions generally, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations.

Karl Marx: The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850 (January-November 1, 1850)

In destroying the existing conditions of oppression by transferring all the means of labor to the productive laborer, and thereby compelling every able-bodied individual to work for a living, the only base for class rule and oppression would be removed. But before such a change can be consummated, a dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary, and its first premiss is an army of the proletariat.

Karl Marx: Speech on the Seventh Anniversary of the International (September 1871)

The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Manifesto of the Communist Party (February 1848)

Those who recognize only the class struggle are not yet Marxists; they may be found to be still within the boundaries of bourgeois thinking and bourgeois politics. To confine Marxism to the doctrine of the class struggle means curtailing Marxism, distorting it, reducing it to something which is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is what constitutes the most profound difference between the Marxist and the ordinary petty (as well as big) bourgeois. This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of Marxism is to be tested.

V.I. Lenin: The State and Revolution (August-September 1917)

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the force of habit, in the strength of small production. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential, and victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible without a long, stubborn and desperate war of life and death, a war demanding perseverance, discipline, firmness, indomitableness and unity of will.

V.I. Lenin: "Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder (April-May, 1920)

During every transition from capitalism to Socialism, dictatorship is necessary for two main reasons, or along two main channels. Firstly, capitalism cannot be defeated and eradicated without the ruthless suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, who cannot at once be deprived of their wealth, of their advantages of organization and knowledge, and consequently for a fairly long period will inevitably try to overthrow the hated rule of the poor; secondly, every great revolution, and a socialist revolution in particular, even if there were no external war, is inconceivable without internal war, i.e., civil war, which is even more devastating than external war, and involves thousands and millions of cases of wavering and desertion from one side to another, implies a state of extreme indefiniteness, lack of equilibrium and chaos. And of course, all the elements of disintegration of the old society, which are inevitably very numerous and connected mainly with the petty bourgeoisie (because it is the petty bourgeoisie that every war and every crisis ruins and destroys first) cannot but "reveal themselves" during such a profound revolution. And these elements of disintegration cannot "reveal themselves" otherwise than in the increase of crime, hooliganism, corruption, profiteering and outrages of every kind. To put these down requires time and requires an iron hand.

There has not been a single great revolution in history in which the people did not instinctively realize this and did not reveal salutary firmness by shooting thieves on the spot. The misfortune of previous revolutions was that the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses, which sustained them in their state of tension and gave them the strength ruthlessly to suppress the elements of disintegration, did not last long. The social, i.e., the class reason for this instability of the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses was the weakness of the proletariat, which alone is able (if it is sufficiently numerous, class conscious and disciplined) to win over to its side the majority of the working and exploited people (the majority of the poor, to speak more simply and popularly) and retain power sufficiently long to suppress completely all the exploiters as well as all the elements of disintegration.

It was this historical experience of all revolutions, it was this world-historical--economic and political--lesson that Marx summed up in giving his short, sharp, concise and expressive formula: dictatorship of the proletariat.

V.I. Lenin: The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government (March-April, 1918)

The class of exploiters, the landlords and capitalists, has not disappeared and cannot disappear all at once under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The exploiters have been smashed, but not destroyed. They still have an international base in the form of international capital, a branch of which they represent. They still retain a part of certain means of production, they still have money, they still have vast social connections. Just because they have been defeated, their energy of resistance has increased a hundred- and thousand-fold. The "art" of state, military and economic administration gives them a superiority, and a very great superiority, so

that their importance is incomparably greater than their numerical strength among the population would warrant. The class struggle waged by the overthrown exploiters against the victorious vanguard of the exploited, i.e., the proletariat, has become incomparably more bitter. And it cannot be otherwise in the case of a revolution, if this concept is not replaced (as it is by all the heroes of the Second International) by reformist illusions.

V.I. Lenin: Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat (October 1919)

We in Russia (in the third year since the overthrow of the bourgeoisie) are going through the first steps in the transition from capitalism to Socialism, or the lower stage of Communism. Classes have remained, and will remain everywhere for years after the conquest of power by the proletariat. Perhaps in England, where there is no peasantry (but where there are small owners!), this period may be shorter. The abolition of classes means not only driving out the landlords and capitalists--that we accomplished with comparative ease--it also means abolishing the small commodity producers, and they cannot be driven out, or crushed; we must live in harmony with them; they can (and must) be remolded and re-educated only by very prolonged, slow, cautious organizational work. They encircle the proletariat on every side with a petty-bourgeois atmosphere, which permeates and corrupts the proletariat and causes constant relapses among the proletariat into petty-bourgeois spinelessness, disunity, individualism, and alternate moods of exaltation and dejection. The strictest centralization and discipline are required within the political party of the proletariat in order to counteract this, in order that the organizational role of the proletariat (and that is its principal role) may be exercised correctly, successfully, victoriously. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle--bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative--against the forces and traditions of the old society. The force of habit of millions and tens of millions is a most terrible force. Without an iron party tempered in the struggle, without a party enjoying the confidence of all that is honest in the given class, without a party capable of watching and influencing the mood of the masses, it is impossible to conduct such a struggle successfully. It is a thousand times easier to vanquish the centralized big bourgeoisie than to "vanquish" the millions and millions of small owners; yet they, by their ordinary, everyday, imperceptible, elusive, demoralizing activity, achieve the very results which the bourgeoisie need and which tend to restore the bourgeoisie. Whoever weakens ever so little the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during the time of its dictatorship), actually aids the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

V.I. Lenin: "Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder (April-May, 1920)

Ay, the working class is not severed by a Chinese Wall from the old bourgeois society. And when a revolution takes place, it does not happen as in the case of the death of an individual, when the deceased person is simply removed. When the old society perishes, you cannot nail the corpse of bourgeois society into a coffin and lower it into the grave. It disintegrates in our midst; the corpse rots and poisons us.

V.I. Lenin: Report to a Joint Session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet of Workers', Peasants', and Red Army Deputies and the Trade Unions (June, 1918)

What we have to deal with here is a communist society, not as it has developed on its own foundations, but, on the contrary, just as it emerges from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges. Accordingly, the individual producer receives back from society--after the deductions have been made--exactly what he gives to it. What he has given to it is his individual quantum of labor. For example, the social working day consists of the sum of the individual hours of work; the individual labor time of the individual producer is the part of the social working day contributed by him, his share in it. He receives a certificate from society that he has furnished such and such an amount of labor (after deducting his labor for the common funds), and with this certificate he draws from the social stock of means of consumption as much as the same amount of labor costs. The same amount of labor which he has given to society in one form he receives back in another.

Here obviously the same principle prevails as that which regulates the exchange of commodities, as far as this is exchange of equal values. Content and form are changed, because under the altered circumstances no one can give anything except his labor, and because, on the other hand, nothing can pass into the ownership of individuals except individual means of consumption. But, as far as the distribution of the latter among the individual producers is concerned, the same principle prevails as in the exchange of commodity-equivalents: a given amount of labor in one form is exchanged for an equal amount of labor in another form.

Hence, equal right here is still--in principle--bourgeois right, although principle and practice are no longer at loggerheads, while the exchange of equivalents in commodity exchange exists only on the average and not in the individual case.

In spite of this advance, this equal right is still perpetually burdened with a bourgeois limitation. The right of the producers is proportional to the labor they supply; the equality consists in the fact that measurement is made with an equal standard, labor. But one man is superior to another physically or mentally and so supplies more labor in the same time, or can work for a longer time; and labor, to serve as a measure, must be defined by its duration or intensity, otherwise it ceases

to be a standard of measurement. This equal right is an unequal right for unequal labor. It recognizes no class differences, because everyone is only a worker like everyone else; but it tacitly recognizes unequal individual endowment and thus productive capacity of the worker as natural privileges. It is, therefore, a right of inequality, in its content, like every right. Right by its very nature can consist only in the application of an equal standard; but unequal individuals (and they would not be different individuals if they were not unequal) are measurable only by the same standard in so far as they are brought under the same point of view, are taken from one definite side only, for instance, in the present case, are regarded only as workers, and nothing more is seen in them, everything else being ignored. Further, one worker is married, another not; one has more children than another, and so on and so forth. Thus, with an equal performance of labor, and hence an equal share in the social consumption fund, one will in fact receive more than another, one will be richer than another, and so on. To avoid all these defects, right instead of being equal would have to be unequal.

But these defects are inevitable in the first phase of communist society as it is when it has just emerged after prolonged birth pangs from capitalist society. Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development conditioned thereby.

Karl Marx: Critique of the Gotha Program
(April-early May, 1875)

In the first phase of communist society (usually called Socialism) "bourgeois right" is not abolished in its entirety, but only in part, only in proportion to the economic revolution so far attained, i.e., only in respect of the means of production. "Bourgeois right" recognizes them as the private property of individuals. Socialism converts them into common property. To that extent--and to that extent alone--"bourgeois right" disappears.

However, it continues to exist as far as its other part is concerned; it continues to exist in the capacity of regulator (determining factor) in the distribution of products and the allotment of labor among the members of society. The socialist principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat," is already realized; the other socialist principle: "An equal amount of products for an equal amount of labor," is also already realized. But this is not yet Communism, and it does not yet abolish "bourgeois right," which gives to unequal individuals, in return for unequal (really unequal) amounts of labor, equal amounts of products.

V.I. Lenin: The State and Revolution
(August-September 1917)

Marx not only most scrupulously takes account of the inevitable inequality of men, but he also takes into account the fact that the mere conversion of the means of production into the common property of the whole of society (commonly called "Socialism") does not remove the defects of distribution and the inequality of "bourgeois right" which continues to prevail as long as products are divided "according to the amount of labor performed."

V.I. Lenin: The State and Revolution
(August-September, 1917)

Of course, bourgeois right in regard to the distribution of articles of consumption inevitably presupposes the existence of the bourgeois state, for right is nothing without an apparatus capable of enforcing the observance of the standards of right.

It follows that under Communism there remains for a time not only bourgeois right, but even the bourgeois state--without the bourgeoisie!

V.I. Lenin: The State and Revolution
(August-September, 1917)

Herr Dühring gives everyone a right to "quantitatively equal consumption," but he cannot compel anyone to exercise it. On the contrary, he is proud that in the world he has created everyone can do what he likes with his money. He therefore cannot prevent some from setting aside a small money hoard, while others are unable to make ends meet on the wage paid to them. He even makes this inevitable by explicitly recognizing in the right of inheritance that family property should be owned in common; whence comes also the obligation of the parents to maintain their children. But this makes a wide breach in quantitatively equal consumption. The bachelor lives like a lord, happy and content with his eight or twelve shillings a day, while the widower with eight minor children finds it very difficult to manage on this sum. On the other hand, by accepting money in payment without any question, the commune leaves open the door to the possibility that this money may have been obtained otherwise than by the individual's own labor. Non olet.* The commune does not know where it comes from. But in this way all conditions are created permitting metallic money, which hitherto played the role of a mere labor certificate, to exercise its real money function. Both the opportunity and the motive are present, on the one hand to form a hoard, and on the other to run into debt. The needy individual borrows from the individual who builds up a hoard. The borrowed money, accepted by the commune in payment for means of subsistence, once more becomes what it is in present-day society, the social incarnation of human labor, the real measure of labor, the general medium of circulation. All the "laws and administrative regulations" in the world are just as powerless against it as they are against the multiplication table or the chemical composition of water. And as the builder of

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* It (money) does not smell.

the hoard is in a position to extort interest from people in need, usury is restored along with metallic money functioning as money.

Frederick Engels: Anti-Dühring
(September 1876-June 1878)

Once the commodity-producing society has further developed the value form, which is inherent in commodities as such, to the money form, various germs still hidden in value break through to the light of day. The first and most essential effect is the generalization of the commodity form. Money forces the commodity form even on the objects which have hitherto been produced directly for self-consumption; it drags them into exchange. Thereby the commodity form and money penetrate the internal husbandry of the communities directly associated for production; they break one tie of communion after another, and dissolve the community into a mass of private producers.

Frederick Engels: Anti-Dühring
(September 1876-June 1878)

What is freedom of turnover? Freedom of turnover is freedom to trade, and freedom to trade means going back to capitalism. Freedom of turnover and freedom to trade mean commodity exchange between individual, small proprietors. All of us who have learnt at least the ABC of Marxism know that this turnover and freedom to trade inevitably lead to the division of the commodity producers into owners of capital and owners of labor power, a division into capitalists and wage workers, i.e., the restoration of capitalist wage slavery, which does not come like a bolt from the blue, but all over the world grows precisely out of commodity agriculture. We know this perfectly well, theoretically, and in Russia no one who has watched the life and economic conditions of the small farmer can have failed to observe this.

V.I. Lenin: Report at the Tenth Congress
of the R.C.P.(B.) (March, 1921)

The bourgeoisie is born of commodity production; the peasant who has a surplus of hundreds of poods of grain that he does not need for his family and does not deliver to the workers' state as a loan to help the hungry worker, and profiteers under the prevailing conditions of commodity production--what is he? Is he not a bourgeois? Is the bourgeoisie not born in this way?

V.I. Lenin: Seventh All-Russian Congress
of Soviets (December, 1919)

Yes, by overthrowing the landowners and bourgeoisie we cleared the way but we did not build the edifice of socialism. On the ground cleared of one bourgeois generation, new generations continually appear in history, as long as the ground gives rise to them, and it does give rise to any number of bourgeois. As for those who look at the victory over the capitalists in the way that the petty proprietors look at it--"they grabbed, let me have a go too"--indeed, every one of them is the source of a new generation of bourgeois.

V.I. Lenin: Session of the All-Russia C.E.C. (April, 1918)

Comrade Rykov, who in the economic sphere knows the facts very well, told us of the new bourgeoisie which exists in our country. That is true. It is arising not only from among our Soviet government employees--to an insignificant degree it can arise from them also--it is arising from among the peasants and handicraftsmen, who have been liberated from the yoke of the capitalist banks and who are now cut off from railway transport. That is a fact. How do you expect to get around this fact? You are only flattering your illusions, or introducing badly digested book learning into reality, which is far more complex. It shows us that even in Russia capitalist commodity production is alive, operating, developing and giving birth to a bourgeoisie, just as in every capitalist society.

V.I. Lenin: At the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) (March, 1919)

Among the Soviet engineers, the Soviet school-teachers and the privileged, i.e., the most highly skilled and best situated, workers in the Soviet factories, we observe a constant revival of absolutely all the negative traits peculiar to bourgeois parliamentarism, and we are conquering this evil--gradually--only by tireless, constant, prolonged and persistent struggle, proletarian organization and discipline.

V.I. Lenin: "Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder (April-May, 1920)

The workers were never separated by a Chinese Wall from the old Society. And they have preserved a good deal of the traditional mentality of capitalist society. The workers are building a new society without themselves having become new people, cleansed of the filth of the old world; they are still standing up to their knees in that filth. We can only dream of cleansing ourselves of that filth. It would be the height of utopianism to think that this can be done all at once. It would be a utopianism which in practice would only postpone socialism to kingdom come.

No, that is not the way we are setting out to build socialism. We are doing so while still standing on the soil of capitalist society,

combating all those weaknesses and shortcomings with which the working people are also affected and which tend to drag the proletariat down.

V.I. Lenin: Report at Second All-Russian Trade Union Congress (January, 1919)

There is a petty-bourgeois tendency to transform the members of the Soviets into "parliamentarians," or else into bureaucrats. We must combat this by drawing all the members of the Soviets into the practical work of administration. In many places the departments of the Soviets are gradually becoming merged with the Commissariats. Our aim is to draw the whole of the poor into the practical work of administration, and every step that is taken in this direction--the more varied they are, the better--should be carefully recorded, studied, systematized, tested by wider experience and embodied in law. Our aim is to insure that every toiler, after having finished his eight hours' "task" in productive labor, shall perform state duties without pay: the transition to this is particularly difficult, but this transition alone can guarantee the final consolidation of Socialism.

V.I. Lenin: The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government (March-April, 1918)

We do not need fictitious Party members even as a gift. Our Party, the Party of the revolutionary working class, is the only government party in the world which is concerned not in increasing its membership but in improving its quality, and in purging itself of "self-seekers." We have more than once carried out re-registration of Party members in order to get rid of these "self-seekers" and to leave in the Party only politically enlightened elements who are sincerely devoted to Communism. We have further taken advantage of the mobilizations for the front and of the subbotniks to purge the Party of those who are only "out for" the benefits accruing to membership of a government party and do not want to bear the burden of self-sacrificing work on behalf of Communism.

V.I. Lenin: The Workers' State and Party Week (October, 1919)

Opportunism is our principal enemy. Opportunism in the upper ranks of the working class movement is not proletarian socialism, but bourgeois socialism. Practice has shown that the active people in the working class movement who adhere to the opportunist trend are better defenders of the bourgeoisie, than the bourgeoisie itself.

V.I. Lenin: Report at the Second Congress of the Communist International (July-August 1920)

The bourgeoisie in our country has been vanquished, but it has not yet been uprooted, not yet destroyed, and not even utterly broken. That is why a new and higher form of struggle against the bourgeoisie is on the order of the day, the transition from the very simple task of further expropriating the capitalists to the much more complicated and difficult task of creating conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise. Clearly, this task is immeasurably more significant than the previous one; and until it is fulfilled there will be no Socialism.

V.I. Lenin: The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government (March-April, 1918)

Clearly, in order to abolish classes completely, it is not enough to overthrow the exploiters, the landlords and capitalists, not enough to abolish their rights of ownership; it is necessary also to abolish all private ownership of the means of production, it is necessary to abolish the distinction between town and country, as well as the distinction between manual workers and brain workers. This requires a very long period of time.

V.I. Lenin: A Great Beginning (June, 1919)

"Communist" features begin only with the appearance of subbotniks, that is, the unpaid work of individual persons, unregulated by any government or state, performed on a wide scale for the public good. This is not help rendered to a neighbor, such as was always practiced in the countryside; this is labor to satisfy a general need of the state, organized on a wide scale, and unpaid. It would therefore be more correct to apply the word communist not only to the name of the Party, but also, and exclusively, to such economic phenomena in our social life as are "communist" in fact. If there is anything communistic in our present system in Russia it is the subbotniks, and only the subbotniks; everything else is but a fight against capitalism for the consolidation of socialism, from which, after its complete triumph, should grow that communism which we observe in the subbotniks, not as a theoretical thing but as an actual fact.

V.I. Lenin: Subbotniks (December, 1919)

The revolution we have begun and have already been making for two years, and which we are firmly determined to carry to its conclusion, is possible and feasible only provided we achieve the transfer of power to the new class, provided the bourgeoisie, the capitalist slave-owners, the bourgeois intellectuals, the representatives of all the owners and property holders are replaced by the new class in all spheres of government,

in all government affairs, in the entire business of directing the new life, from top to bottom.

V.I. Lenin: Report at Second All-Russian Trade Union Congress (January, 1919)

In a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labor, and with it also the antithesis between mental and physical labor, has vanished; after labor has become not only a means of life but itself life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of cooperative wealth flow more abundantly--only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!

Karl Marx: Critique of the Gotha Program (April-early May, 1875)

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Manifesto of the Communist Party (February 1848)

I also hope that in addition to talks and lectures you will devote some time to reading at least some of the most important works of Marx and Engels. I have no doubt that these most important works are to be found in the catalogues of literature and in the handbooks which are available to the pupils of the Soviet and Party school; and although, again, some of you may at first be dismayed by the difficulty of the exposition, I must again warn you that you should not be perturbed by this fact and that what is unclear at a first reading will become clear at a second reading, or when you subsequently approach the question from a somewhat different angle. For I once more repeat that the question is so complex and has been so confused by bourgeois scholars and writers that anybody who desires to study this question seriously and to master it independently must attack it several times, return to it again and again and consider the question from various angles in order to attain a clear and definite understanding of it. And it will be all the easier to return to this question because it is such a fundamental, such a basic question of all politics, and because not only in such stormy and revolutionary times as the present, but even in the most peaceful times, you will come across this question in any newspaper in connection with any economic or political question.

Every day, in one connection or another, you will be returning to **this question: what is the state, what is its nature, what is its significance and what is the attitude of our Party, the Party that is fighting for the overthrow of capitalism, the Communist Party--what is its attitude to the state?**

V.I. Lenin: The State (July, 1919)

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On the Social Basis of the Lin Piao Anti-Party Clique

by

Yao Wen-yüan (姚文元)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 3, March 1, 1975)

Speaking of the necessity for a clear understanding of the question of the proletariat exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, Chairman Mao pointed out explicitly: "It would be quite easy for people like Lin Piao to push the capitalist system if they come to power. Therefore, we should read some more Marxist-Leninist works." This brings up a most important question: What is the class nature of "people like Lin Piao"? What is the social basis that engendered the Lin Piao anti-Party clique? Undoubtedly a clear understanding of this question is fully necessary for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration and for firmly implementing the Party's basic line for the historical period of socialism and creating step by step conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise.

As in the case of all other revisionists and revisionist trends of thought, the appearance of Lin Piao and his revisionist line was not accidental. Lin Piao and his sworn followers were extremely isolated in the whole Party, in the whole army and among the people of the whole country; but there is a deep-rooted class basis in society that engendered this bunch of extremely isolated persons who described themselves as "heavenly horses flying through the skies, solitary and free."

It is fairly clear that the Lin Piao anti-Party clique represented the interests of the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes and the aspirations of the overthrown reactionaries to topple the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique opposed the great proletarian cultural revolution and had inveterate hatred for the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, slandering it as "feudal autocracy" and cursing it as "Ch'in Shih Huang of the contemporary era." They wanted the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists "to achieve genuine liberation politically and economically," i.e., politically and economically they wanted to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the landlord and comprador-capitalist classes and the socialist system into a capitalist system. As an agent in the Party, an agent of the bourgeoisie working hard for a restoration, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was wild in its attack on the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, so much so that it set up an organization of secret agents and plotted a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat. Such frenzy is a reflection of the fact that the reactionaries who have lost political power and the means of production inevitably will resort to every means to recapture the lost positions of the exploiting classes. We have seen how Lin Piao, after his political and ideological bankruptcy, tried to "eat up" the proletariat by staking everything on a single

cast as a desperate gambler would do and how he finally betrayed the country and fled to defect to the enemy; despite the very patient education, waiting and efforts to save him by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, his counter-revolutionary nature did not change in the least. All this reflects the life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the two major antagonistic classes, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a struggle that will go on for a long period. As long as the overthrown reactionary classes still exist, the possibility remains for the emergence within the Party (and in society as well) of representatives of the bourgeoisie who will try to turn their hope for restoration into attempt at restoration. Therefore, we must heighten our vigilance and guard against and smash any plot by the reactionaries at home and abroad, and on no account must we slacken our vigilance. Such an understanding, however, still does not embrace all aspects of the issue. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique represented not only the hope of the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes for a restoration but also the hope of the newly engendered bourgeois elements in socialist society for usurping power. Members of this clique had certain characteristics of newly engendered bourgeois elements, and a number of them were in fact such elements. And some of their slogans met and reflected the needs of the bourgeois elements and those wishing to take the capitalist road in developing capitalism. It is precisely this latter aspect that merits our further analysis.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Lenin said, 'Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.' This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life." Some in the Lin Piao anti-Party clique were the very representatives of such newly engendered bourgeoisie and capitalism. Among them, Lin Li-kuo [Lin Piao's son] and his small "fleet" [code name for their secret agent organization] were out-and-out anti-socialist bourgeois elements and counter-revolutionaries engendered in socialist society.

The existence of bourgeois influence and the existence of the influence of international imperialism and revisionism are the political and ideological source of new bourgeois elements, while the existence of bourgeois right provides the vital economic basis for their emergence.

Lenin pointed out: "In the first phase of communist society (usually called Socialism) 'bourgeois right' is not abolished in its entirety, but only in part, only in proportion to the economic revolution so far attained, i.e., only in respect of the means of production." "However, it continues to exist as far as its other part is concerned; it continues to exist in the capacity of regulator (determining factor) in the distribution of products and the allotment of labor among the members of society. The socialist principle: 'He who does not work, neither shall he eat,' is already realized; the other socialist principle: 'An equal amount of products for an equal amount of labor,' is also already realized. But this

is not yet Communism, and it does not yet abolish 'bourgeois right,' which gives to unequal individuals, in return for unequal (really unequal) amounts of labor, an equal amount of the product."

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "China is a socialist country. Before liberation, she was more or less like capitalism. Even now she practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution to each according to his work and exchange by means of money, which are scarcely different from those in the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has changed." "Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, there being the eight-grade wage system, etc. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat."

In socialist society, there still exist two kinds of socialist ownership, namely, ownership by the whole people and collective ownership. This determines that China at present practices a commodity system. The analyses made by Lenin and Chairman Mao tell us that bourgeois right which inevitably exists as regards distribution and exchange under the socialist system should be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that in the long course of the socialist revolution the three major differences between workers and peasants, between town and country and between manual and mental labor will gradually be narrowed and the discrepancies between the various grades will be reduced and the material and ideological conditions for closing such gaps will gradually be created. If we do not follow this course, but call instead for the consolidation, extension and strengthening of bourgeois right and that part of inequality it entails, the inevitable result will be polarization, i.e., a small number of people will in the course of distribution acquire increasing amounts of commodities and money through certain legal channels and numerous illegal ones; capitalist ideas of amassing fortunes and craving for personal fame and gain, stimulated by such "material incentives," will spread unchecked; such phenomena as turning public property into private property, speculation, graft and corruption, theft and bribery will rise; the capitalist principle of the exchange of commodities will make its way into political life and even into Party life, undermine the socialist planned economy and give rise to such acts of capitalist exploitation as the conversion of commodities and money into capital and labor power into a commodity; and there will be a change in the nature of the system of ownership in certain departments and units which follow the revisionist line; and instances of oppression and exploitation of the laboring people will once again occur. As a result, a small number of new bourgeois elements and upstarts who have totally betrayed the proletariat and the laboring people will emerge from among Party members, workers, well-to-do peasants and personnel in state organs. Our worker-comrades have put it well: "If bourgeois right is not restricted, it will check the development of socialism and aid the growth of capitalism." When the economic strength of the bourgeoisie grows to a certain extent, its agents will ask for political rule, try to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, completely change the socialist ownership, and openly restore and develop the capitalist system. Once in power, the new bourgeoisie will first of all carry out a bloody suppression of the people and restore capitalism in the superstructure, including all spheres of ideology and culture; then they will conduct distribution in

proportion to the amount of capital and power each has, and the principle "to each according to his work" will be nothing but an empty shell, and a handful of new bourgeois elements monopolizing the means of production will at the same time monopolize the power of distributing consumer goods and other products. Such is the process of restoration that has already taken place in the Soviet Union.

As regards the way the Lin Piao anti-Party clique stooped to anything to amass riches, insatiably pursued the bourgeois way of life and used bourgeois right to carry out insidious, unsavoury and vile activities, many instances have been brought to light and subjected to criticism. But even more illustrative is its program for a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, "Outline of Project '571'," in which the Lin Piao anti-Party clique used precisely the idea of bourgeois right, and not anything else, to abet or incite certain people of various classes to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. In other words, the class interests the program represents, in addition to the interests of the old bourgeoisie, are precisely the interests of a number of new bourgeois elements and a few people who want to use bourgeois right to develop capitalism. This explains why the program directs its attack on Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and why it shows particularly bitter hatred for certain restrictions placed on bourgeois right through the socialist revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

The Lin Piao anti-Party clique slandered office cadres going to May 7th cadre schools as "unemployment in a disguised form"; it vilified simplifying administrative set-ups and maintaining close relations with the masses as an attack on cadres. It held that cadres should be overlords sitting on the backs of the people and, therefore, they become "unemployed" once they take part in collective productive labor. This was designed to incite a section of the office workers--those who wish to extend bourgeois right, seek official posts and become overlords and those who are seriously infected with the bourgeois style of life--to oppose the Party's line and the socialist system.

The Lin Piao anti-Party clique slandered intellectuals integrating themselves with the workers and peasants and going to the countryside as "reform through forced labor in a disguised form." Young people, full of vigor and imbued with communist consciousness, have gone group after group to the countryside. This is a great undertaking of far-reaching significance for narrowing the three major differences and for restricting bourgeois right. All revolutionary people enthusiastically praise it, but those corrupted by bourgeois ideology, and particularly those fettered by the idea of bourgeois right, oppose it. Whether the integration of educated young people with the workers and peasants is upheld or not has a direct bearing on whether the revolution in university education can be carried on by following the road taken by the Shanghai Machine Tool Plant--enrolling students from among the workers and peasants and assigning them to work among workers and peasants upon graduation. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique's special hatred of this not only showed its opposition to the

laboring people but also exposed its scheme to use bourgeois right to attack the Party in an attempt to incite some people deeply influenced by the idea of bourgeois right to oppose the socialist revolution. Its program was aimed at widening the gap between town and country and between manual and mental labor, and turning educated young people into a new stratum of elite, so as to win the support of those deeply influenced by the idea of bourgeois right for its counter-revolutionary coup d'etat.

The Lin Piao anti-Party clique smeared as "exploitation in a disguised form" the communist spirit displayed by the working class in criticizing the revisionist "material incentives." Lin Piao was a fanatic advocate of "material incentives." He wrote in his sinister notebook such revisionist trash as "material incentives are still necessary," "materialism--material incentives," "inducements--official post, emolument, favor." A principal member of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique also wrote that "the principle of to each according to his work and of material benefit" was the "decisive motive force" in promoting production. On the face of it, they advocated using money to "stimulate" the workers, but actually they wanted to widen without any limit the differences in grade among the workers in order to foster and buy over a small section of the working class, turn it into a privileged stratum which betrays the proletarian dictatorship and the interests of the proletariat, and split the unity of the working class. They tried to corrupt the workers with the bourgeois world outlook and use the small number of workers who are deeply influenced by the idea of bourgeois right as a force in support of their opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lin Piao and company attached "particular importance" to using "wages" to lure "young workers," and their "inducements--official post, emolument, favor" were a sinister scheme. This shows us by negative example that young workers, particularly those who have become cadres, must consciously reject the material inducements of the bourgeoisie and the flattery offered them in various forms by the idea of bourgeois right. They must maintain and bring into play the communist revolutionary spirit of fighting valiantly for the complete emancipation of the proletariat and the whole of mankind and strive to arm themselves with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook; they must never be dazzled and become light-headed by the varicolored world of commodities, exchange by means of money, vulgar flattery, sycophancy and factionalism, so as not to be taken in by political swindlers like Lin Piao or by the landlord and bourgeois elements in society. Under the cloak of "showing concern," all these persons are actually giving the young workers "incentives" to lure them to take the capitalist road, and they could thus be called political "abettors." Inexperienced newly engendered bourgeois elements openly break the law while cunning bourgeois elements of long standing direct them from behind the scenes--this is a common occurrence in class struggle in society today. We lay special emphasis on hitting the backstage abettors in dealing with corrupted young people who have committed crimes. We must continue to adhere to this principle. Quite a number of young workers who take a clear-cut stand in the fight against bourgeois corruption have come to the fore in present-day struggles; we must support them and sum up their experience in struggle.

The Lin Piao anti-Party clique also slanderously charged that the peasants "lack food and clothing," that "the living standards" of cadres in the armed forces "are deteriorating," and that the Red Guards who displayed the spirit of daring to think, speak, blaze a trail, act and make revolution in criticizing the bourgeoisie during the Great Cultural Revolution "are being hoodwinked and used" .... All this was aimed at totally negating the socialist system and the Party's mass line, negating the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, extending bourgeois right and restoring capitalism. In spreading the slander that peasants "lack food and clothing," the Lin Piao anti-Party clique aimed at inciting the peasants to "eat up and divide everything" so as to undermine and liquidate the socialist collective economy. If things were done along this line, a small number of people would become the new bourgeoisie while the overwhelming majority would suffer capitalist exploitation. And this would be a situation for which the landlords, rich peasants and a part of the well-to-do middle peasants taking the capitalist road in the countryside would yearn.

By now we can see what Lin Piao meant by "building genuine socialism." It meant the extension of bourgeois right under the signboard of socialism so that new bourgeois elements and certain factions and groupings intending to take the capitalist road could, in collusion with the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes, "having everything under their command and everything at their disposal," overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Lin Piao and his like were their political representatives. The program advanced by the Lin Piao anti-Party clique in "Outline of Project '571'" neither dropped from the skies nor was it innate in the minds of those who described themselves as "super-geniuses"; it was a reflection of social being. To be exact, this clique which proceeded from its reactionary bourgeois stand reflected the demands of unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists--who account for only a few percent of the population--and the demands of a small number of new bourgeois elements and those intending to make use of bourgeois right to become new bourgeois elements. On the other hand, it opposed the demands of the revolutionary people, who make up more than 90 percent of the population, to adhere to the socialist road. Members of this clique used idealist transcendentalism to oppose the materialist theory of reflection; however, the materialist theory of reflection must be used to explain how their counter-revolutionary ideas came into being.

Why would it be quite easy for people like Lin Piao to push the capitalist system if they should come to power? This is because in our socialist society there are still classes and class struggle, there are still the soil and conditions for engendering capitalism. In order to gradually reduce such soil and conditions and finally eliminate them altogether, we must persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a task which the vanguard of the proletariat, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, can accomplish only through the firm and indomitable efforts of a number of generations. So we must adhere to the Party's basic line, enhance the political consciousness of the working class, consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, unite all forces

that can be united with and unite the masses of revolutionary people and lead them in consciously remolding their world outlook in the fight against class enemies and in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. And so we must consolidate and develop socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by working people, prevent the restoration of bourgeois right already liquidated with regard to the system of ownership and continue to fulfill, gradually and over a fairly long period of time, that part of the task which is yet to be fulfilled in the transformation of ownership; and with regard to the two other aspects in the relations of production, namely, the mutual relations between men and the relations of distribution, we must restrict bourgeois right, criticize the idea of bourgeois right and continually weaken the basis that engenders capitalism. So we must persevere in the revolution in the realm of the superstructure, deepen our criticism of revisionism and the bourgeoisie and achieve the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

In his talks given during an inspection tour of various places in the country in August and September 1971, Chairman Mao said: "We have been singing 'The Internationale' for fifty years, and there have been ten occasions on which someone in our Party worked for a split. As I see it, another ten, twenty or thirty such occasions may arise. Don't you believe this? Well, if you don't, I do anyway. There will be no more struggles with the realization of communism? That's not what I believe. There will be struggles even then, although they will be struggles between the new and the old, between what is correct and what is wrong. Even tens of thousands of years from now, what is wrong won't pass, it won't stand up." Lenin said: "Yes, by overthrowing the landowners and bourgeoisie we cleared the way but we did not build the edifice of socialism. On the ground cleared of one bourgeois generation, new generations continually appear in history, as long as the ground gives rise to them, and it does give rise to any number of bourgeoisie. As for those who look at the victory over the capitalists in the way that the petty proprietors look at it--'They grabbed, let me have a go too'--indeed, every one of them is the source of a new generation of bourgeoisie." What Lenin dealt with is the protracted nature of class struggle in society; what Chairman Mao deals with is the protracted nature of the two-line struggle which takes shape as a reflection in the Party of class struggle in society. We must carry out such class struggle and two-line struggle and continually defeat the bourgeoisie and its agents working for revisionism, for a split and for intrigues and conspiracy; only thus can we gradually create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise, and finally eliminate classes. Such is the great cause to be accomplished during the entire historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The new bourgeois elements who arise as a result of erosion by bourgeois ideas and the existence of bourgeois right generally share the political features of double-dealers and upstarts. In order to carry out capitalist activities under the dictatorship of the proletariat, they always put up a certain socialist signboard; since their restorationist activities aim not at seizing back any means of production of which they have been dispossessed but at grabbing the means of production they have never possessed,

they are especially greedy, anxious to swallow at one gulp the wealth belonging to the whole people or the collective and place it under their private ownership. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique had these political features. "Like the Chungshan wolf in the ancient fable, you commit treachery once you are in a position to have your own way." These two lines from "The Dream of the Red Chamber," which describe how Sun Shao-tsu, a relentless brute, "stoops to anything to adapt himself to the circumstances," can be aptly applied to the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. Before Lin Piao was "in a position to have his own way," that is, before he got hold of part of political and economic power, he used counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactics to deceive the Party and the masses, and utilized the might of the mass movement to serve his own ends; in doing this, he did not scruple at putting up a revolutionary signboard or shouting revolutionary slogans while at the same time distorting them. Analysing the innermost feelings of Lin Piao and his gang in a letter written in the early days of the Great Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out: "I guess their true intention is to make use of Chung Kuei to fight the ghosts." [Chung Kuei is a legendary character said to have the power to drive away ghosts.] This put the case well. It was a case of making use of a brick to knock open the door, and once that was done they would no longer need it and would brutally get rid of it. Acting as counter-revolutionary double-dealers, opposing the red flag by waving red flags, "speaking nice things to your face but stabbing you in the back," or, as the Lin Piao anti-Party clique itself confessed, "waving Chairman Mao's banner to strike at Chairman Mao's forces"--these are but different ways of expressing things done in one and the same manner. The moment the Lin Piao anti-Party clique thought, as they put it, that "after several years of preparation, the ideological, organizational and military level has been raised considerably and an ideological and material foundation has been laid to a certain extent," they decided to have their own way. In units and departments under their domination and control, they turned socialist public ownership into the Lin Piao anti-Party clique's private ownership. More and more openly they exposed their political ambitions which were sure to grow as they were more and more "in a position to have their own way," just as the bourgeoisie's avarice knows no bounds and grows with the accumulation of capital. In analyzing the bourgeoisie, Marx said: "As capitalist, he is only capital personified. His soul is the soul of capital." The soul of Lin Piao, a bourgeois agent inside the Party, was also nothing but the soul of the old bourgeoisie which has been toppled but dreams of a comeback and the soul of the new bourgeoisie which is coming into being and is vainly attempting to rule. A class analysis makes quite clear the root cause of the perverse, counter-revolutionary political activities of Lin Piao and his gang: Preaching the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, betraying the Party and the Chinese people and going over to social-imperialism, they were engaged in the same kind of dirty business as the Chinese comprador-bourgeoisie which worshipped Confucius and betrayed the country; as to the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat they so feverishly plotted, it was only a carbon copy of the method the bourgeoisie of many countries in the world has resorted to numerous times and still resorts to even to this day.

Our task is, on the one hand, to gradually dig away the soil breeding the bourgeoisie and capitalism and, on the other, to be able to see through in good time the new bourgeoisie like Lin Piao when it appears or is emerging. This is why the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is important. If we depart from the guidance of Marxism, we cannot accomplish the above-mentioned two tasks; moreover, when a revisionist trend of thought surfaces, one may be taken in and may even blindly board the gangsters' boat because of the idea of bourgeois right in one's own mind or because of failure to discern it. If this was not so, why did some people follow a revisionist line when it emerged? Why could Lin Piao and company deceive people at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party by resorting to idealism plus raising a big hullabaloo? Why could those naked words of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique aimed at splitting the Party and overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat find a market among a small number of cadres? Why could the "fleets," big and small, openly use such methods as giving feasts and presenting gifts, offering official posts and other favors as a means for luring people over to form a clique, for carrying out factional activities and for conspiring? Why did they write in their sinister notebooks such trash as "using expertise to cover up politics" and use it as their tactics for carrying out counter-revolutionary activities? There is a profound lesson here. In opposing the P'ang Te-huai anti-Party clique in 1959, Chairman Mao pointed out that "at present, the main danger lies in empiricism." Therefore we should read and study conscientiously. In the past decade and more, Chairman Mao has reiterated this opinion on many occasions. He stressed that high-ranking and intermediate Party cadres, first of all members of the Party Central Committee, "should all conscientiously read and study according to their different levels and have a good grasp of Marxism." He also stressed that "in the next few years, special attention should be paid to propagating Marxism-Leninism." After the collapse of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, Chairman Mao once again said: "I formally advise comrades to do some reading." And he again stressed this recently when he spoke of the dictatorship of the proletariat. How heartening these earnest and significant teachings are! All comrades in the Party, especially the high-ranking cadres, must grasp conscientious study and reading as a matter of cardinal importance in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. First of all, they must themselves study well and thoroughly understand the expositions by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao and their main works on the dictatorship of the proletariat, strive to explain the question by integrating theory with practice and rid themselves, both ideologically and in action, of the bourgeois ideas and styles of work which are divorced from the masses, so as to identify themselves with the masses, really become promoters of the new emerging socialist things and be good at discerning and daring to resist corrosion by capitalism. We must inherit and carry forward our Party's glorious tradition of plain living and arduous struggle which has been developed over the past decades. We must have a clear understanding of the situation and study policies, including economic policies. It is imperative to adhere to the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production and other work and preparedness against war, a principle which has proved effective in practice. Attention should be paid to distinguishing between the two different types of contradictions and dealing accurate and powerful blows at the very small number of bad

elements; as regards the bourgeois influence among the masses, it should be eliminated by applying the formula "unity, criticism, unity"--mainly by such methods as studying and raising consciousness, supporting advanced things which are firmly opposed to capitalism, recalling past suffering and contrasting it with today's happiness as well as persuading and educating people and making criticism and self-criticism, all for the purpose of uniting 95 percent of the cadres and of the masses. In criticizing capitalist tendencies, it is necessary to create public opinion, win over the majority, awaken consciousness and give active guidance. As for the few who have sunk deep into the quagmire of capitalism, they must be told sharply: "Comrades, mend your ways right now!"

As was pointed out at the beginning of this article, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was extremely isolated from the people of the whole country. In tracing its emergence to the class roots, we pointed to the soil and conditions which produced the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. After stating this aspect of the matter, we must also point out that the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was in essence very feeble; like all reactionaries, it was only a paper tiger. All the counter-revolutionary activities of this clique constituted only a record of defeat and impasse, not of victory. The socialist system is bound to replace the capitalist system and communism is bound to triumph throughout the world; this is an objective law independent of man's will. Since socialist society is born out of the old society, it "is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges." This is not strange. The history of the past 25 years tells us that so long as we uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat, adhere to Chairman Mao's theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and keep to the line, principles and policies for the socialist revolution which Chairman Mao has laid down for us, we are able to smash the resistance put up by the class enemies, erase these birth marks step by step and continually win fresh victories. The present excellent situation marked by ever greater prosperity of our socialist cause is in sharp contrast to the situation of imperialism and social-imperialism which are disintegrating internally and beset with difficulties at home and abroad. Chairman Mao's latest instruction on the question of theory will certainly enable us, both in theory and in practice, to understand more fully the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the ways to accomplish them; it will greatly help consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, deepen the socialist revolution, spur the development of socialist construction and promote nationwide stability and unity. The Communists of China are full of confidence, so are the proletariat and the revolutionary people of the country. United as one and in high spirits, they are waging a struggle under the leadership of the Party to combat and prevent revisionism. The history of the Chinese revolution is a history of the revolutionary people advancing to victory through tortuous struggles and the reactionaries heading for destruction after repeated trials of strength. As Chairman Mao has summed it up: "In China, after the emperor was overthrown in 1911, no reactionary was able to stay long in power. The longest was only twenty years (Chiang Kai-shek), but he was also toppled once the people rose in revolt. Chiang Kai-shek climbed to power by taking advantage of Sun Yat-sen's trust in him and by running the Whampoa Academy

and gathering around him a big bunch of reactionaries. Practically the whole landlord class and bourgeoisie supported him when he turned against the Communist Party. Moreover, the Communist Party was inexperienced at the time. So, he gleefully gained temporary ascendancy. In those twenty years, however, he never achieved unification. There occurred the war between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, the wars between the Kuomintang and the various warlord cliques, the Sino-Japanese war and, finally, the four-year large-scale civil war, which sent him scampering to a cluster of islands. If the Rightists were to stage an anti-Communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they would have no peace either and their rule would most probably be short-lived, because it would never be tolerated by the revolutionaries who represent the interests of the people constituting more than 90 percent of the population." "The conclusion is still the two oft-repeated sentences: The future is bright; the road is tortuous." Let us advance courageously in the direction and along the road pointed out by Chairman Mao!

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Read Seriously, Grasp Study

by

Ch'eng Yüeh (程 越)

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Chairman Mao's recent important instruction on the question of theory profoundly expounds the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and points out the utmost importance of studying this theory at present. A part of the quotations selected and compiled from Marx, Engels and Lenin according to Chairman Mao's instruction has been published. Conscientious study of this instruction of Chairman Mao's, these quotations and his thesis on the dictatorship of the proletariat and striving to read some more Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's works to clearly understand the question of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie--this is of tremendous current and far-reaching historical significance in combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing the restoration of capitalism, firmly implementing the Party's basic line, and persisting in continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must grasp this study well.

Chairman Mao points out: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation." We have destroyed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, criticized their revisionist line, and won the great victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution. However, class struggle has not yet come to an end. Revisionism is not a fortuitous phenomenon of individuals, but a product of class struggle. In the historical period of socialism, there always exist classes, class contradictions and class struggle, and there is the social basis giving rise to the bourgeoisie and revisionism. To draw a clear-cut line of demarcation between ourselves and revisionism as well as capitalism, we must arm ourselves with the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Many comrades said with deep feeling: If one fails to gain a clear understanding of theory, one cannot possibly tell right from wrong. Only when the comrades of the whole Party and the people of the whole country further grasp the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat can they strengthen their great revolutionary unity on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, consciously strive to combat and prevent revisionionism, and continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

It is a great leap forward in the history of the development of human society that the dictatorship of the proletariat replaces the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and socialism takes the place of capitalism. The socialist society under the dictatorship of the proletariat is far superior to the old society. However, the socialist

society has, after all, emerged from the womb of the old society and is inevitably stamped with the birthmarks of the old society. If things are done improperly, the capitalist system may be restored at any time. In reference to the socialist system, Chairman Mao has clearly pointed out: "In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation it was much the same as capitalism. Even now it practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution to each according to his work and exchange by means of money, which are scarcely different from those in the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has changed." Chairman Mao has also pointed out: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, there being the eight-grade wage system, etc. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus it would be quite easy for people like Lin Piao to push the capitalist system if they come to power. Therefore, we should read some more Marxist-Leninist works." It is only when we conscientiously study the expositions of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao on the dictatorship of the proletariat that we can understand why there still exist bourgeois rights in socialist society, the connection between bourgeois rights and the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, and the connections between bourgeois rights and the emergence of the bourgeoisie and revisionism, so that we can see the need to restrict bourgeois rights under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Marxism tells us that socialism turns the means of production into common property, within the scope of which bourgeois rights are abolished. However, bourgeois rights still exist in distribution and exchange. As expressed by distribution to each according to his work and exchange by means of money, "equal rights are still bourgeois rights in principle." Bourgeois rights are a hotbed that breeds the bourgeoisie and revisionism in socialist society. They must be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. If they are not restricted but are allowed to expand, they may add to the soil and conditions for the bourgeoisie and revisionism to grow, polarization will be caused, and a small number of people may take advantage of bourgeois rights, hoist the legal signboard and employ illegal means to seize state or collective property and products, hoard up large amounts of money and commodities, and degenerate into new bourgeois elements. If these phenomena are widespread and growing, a privileged stratum of people with unearned gains will emerge, the nature of the socialist system of ownership will change, there will be a change in socialist mutual relations between one man and another, and capitalist restoration will take place. The degeneration of the socialist into the capitalist system following the rise of revisionism to power in the Soviet Union has provided us with a profound lesson in this respect. Therefore, the historical task of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to suppress the resistance and restoration attempts of the overthrown exploiting classes, guard against subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism, restrict the bourgeois rights, ceaselessly weaken and remove the soil that breeds the bourgeoisie and revisionism, gradually eliminate the traces left behind by the old society, and strive to create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise. This is an important aspect of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. We should link our study with the

positive and negative historical experiences at home and abroad and with the current manifestations of class struggle so as to gain a profound comprehension of the relationship between restricting bourgeois rights on the one hand and combating and preventing revisionism, and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat on the other.

What attitude should we take toward bourgeois rights? Should we restrict or extend them? This is an important aspect of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines in socialist society. In 1958, after the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production was in the main completed in our country, Chairman Mao brought up the question of restricting bourgeois rights. A great debate ensued in the press on the question of whether it was necessary to restrict bourgeois rights. Essentially the struggle was one of whether it was necessary to uphold the proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. This struggle has been going on ever since. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, socialist new things have emerged in all spheres and on all fronts under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and are meant to pound away at and restrict the bourgeois rights from all directions as well as consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. Such pounding and restriction have shattered the dream of the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes and the newly engendered bourgeois elements in restoring capitalism, and therefore aroused their strong resistance and that of their agents in the Party. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique's vicious attack on the great proletarian cultural revolution and its bitter hatred toward the socialist new things concentratedly reflected its reactionary desire to vainly attempt to extend the bourgeois rights and restore capitalism. This shows us by negative example that the struggle for and against restriction of bourgeois rights is protracted. This requires that we conscientiously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and remain always sober. It is only when we understand the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and grasp Chairman Mao's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat that we will not be misled by specious revisionist fallacies but will consciously implement the regulations and measures laid down by our Party and state for restricting the bourgeois rights.

On the question of dealing with bourgeois rights, an important reason why some comrades cannot take a correct attitude is that they have not correctly comprehended the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Speaking of bourgeois rights, the teachers of the proletariat not only pointed out that these rights inevitably existed in the socialist period and could not be eliminated right away, but also pointed out that since these rights were "vestiges of the old society" and formed "a bourgeois stereotype," they were incompatible with the communist ideology and social system. And since they are a historical category some day they will enter the history museum. To restrict them step by step and create conditions for their abolition--this is an important historical task of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under this dictatorship, we must not only see the inevitability of the existence of bourgeois rights, but, what is still more important, see the necessity of restricting them. The more the revolution

deepens, the more production grows, the higher people's consciousness rises and the more the dictatorship of the proletariat is consolidated, the greater will be the need to restrict bourgeois rights. One who regards bourgeois rights as something natural and reasonable, takes them for granted and even relishes and chases after them will find himself bound by bourgeois conventions. As early as the period of the democratic revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Beyond all doubt, now is the time to spread communist ideas more widely and put more energy into the study of Marxism-Leninism, or otherwise we shall not only be unable to lead the Chinese revolution forward to the future stage of socialism, but shall also be unable to guide the present democratic revolution to victory." At the same time, Chairman Mao also pointed out that we should keep the active propaganda on communism distinct from the practical application of the program of action for the period of the new-democratic revolution. Now that the revolution has developed into the stage of socialism, it is of course all the more necessary to widely spread communist ideas and step up study of Marxism-Leninism. Only in this way can we steadily raise our consciousness of the need to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, break through the narrow bounds of bourgeois rights, adhere to the socialist road, and advance toward the communist goal.

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is imperative not only to restrict the bourgeois rights but also to criticize the bourgeois concept of rights, criticize bourgeois ideas and criticize the spontaneous capitalist tendencies and the force of old habit. This is a protracted and arduous fighting task. In 1949, when the democratic revolution was about to win the nationwide victory, Chairman Mao confronted the whole Party with the question of resisting corrosion by bourgeois ideas and preventing attacks by sugar-coated bullets. Recently Chairman Mao again pointed out: "Lenin said, 'Small production engenders caitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.' This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life." Chairman Mao's instruction should make us heighten our vigilance. In our study, we ought to see that although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown by us, yet the soil that breeds revisionism and capitalism has not been completely removed. Vainly attempting to regain their lost "paradise," the overthrown bourgeoisie will always make use of the traditional concepts in people's heads and the force of habit to spread bourgeois ideas and rotten style of life and use them to corrupt people's souls and undermine the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat. To struggle against the old traditional concepts and the force of habit, to criticize the bourgeois style of life, and to resist corrosion by bourgeois ideas--this is a major matter in combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. If we fail to make a vigorous effort to grasp the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and fail to see or grasp this struggle, we shall forget a basic task of the proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and shall not be able to make the radical rupture with old traditional concepts and the force of habit.

Not daring to struggle against and criticize bourgeois ideas, capitalist tendencies and the bourgeois style of life, and pretending not to see them--this is some sort of the doctrine of the mean, having nothing in common with the Marxist philosophy of struggle and the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Criticism of the bourgeoisie not only will not adversely affect unity but will enhance revolutionary unity. In our country, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the theoretical basis guiding our thinking. What we mean by unity is unity based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and we must "unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat." To study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must, in the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, penetratingly criticize Lin Piao's crimes in emulating Confucius' "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" and in vainly attempting to restore capitalism. We must criticize bourgeois ideology and the spontaneous capitalist tendencies, wipe out unhealthy bourgeois practices, further promote nationwide stability and unity, and strengthen the proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

Leading cadres should take the lead in studying well Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory and the quotations from Marx, Engels and Lenin on the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is necessary to make a conscientious effort to organize the vast numbers of Party members, cadres and the masses to study them. This study may be combined with the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, and attention should be paid to linking the study with the actual conditions of the revolution in our country and the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Leading comrades should personally conduct more penetrating investigations and research on the actual conditions of the present relations of production and the various aspects of the superstructure. It is necessary, as Lenin said, to "study and investigate repeatedly and think about all the aspects," centering on such basic questions as why it is necessary to exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, what is the historical task of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and how we may struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to truly attain a thorough understanding of the question on the basis of integrating theory with practice.

To really study well the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is by no means a easy matter, but it is not an impossible matter either. The key is to have the initiative to study and the spirit to study painstakingly and assiduously. In their initial studies, many comrades have already gained a lot. We must continue to exert ourselves and thoroughly understand the question of proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie both in theory and practice. Leading comrades should go among the masses, sum up and popularize the good study experiences created among the masses, and pay attention to studying the conditions, analyzing problems and giving the masses correct guidance. In this way we will be able to spur this study movement to forge ahead vigorously and realistically.

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A Theoretical Weapon for Upholding the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

- In commemoration of the centennial of the writing of "Critique of the Gotha Program"

by

Lu Ming (路明)

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Since the great teacher Marx wrote the glorious work "Critique of the Gotha Program" in his tit-for-tat struggle against the Lassallean opportunists in 1875, a whole century has passed. There was a 15-year lapse between the completion of this work in 1875 and its first publication in 1891. During this period, Marx went through a serious struggle against the opportunists. In this work, applying the most thorough, complete and elaborate theory of development, i.e., materialist dialectics, he examined the questions of the forthcoming collapse of capitalism and the future development of communism, verified the difference between the lower and higher phases of communist society, and revealed the bright prospects of the higher phase of communism. Marx stressed: Between capitalist and communist society lies a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the dictatorship of the proletariat. For the past century, this scientific programmatic document of communism has been guiding and inspiring the proletariat and millions upon millions of people in the whole world in their revolutionary struggle.

Over the past 100 years, the whole world has undergone earth-shaking changes. 42 years after the completion of "Critique of the Gotha Program," the Russian proletariat, led by the great Lenin, won the victory of the October Socialist Revolution through its armed uprising and opened a new era of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship throughout the world. 32 years later, following the October Revolution, the Chinese people, under the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, overthrew the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism through a protracted revolutionary war, founded the People's Republic of China, and realized the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. Today, the revolutionary struggle waged by the proletariat, the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples the world over is gaining momentum like rising winds and surging clouds, shaking the entire decadent capitalist world and continuing to win new victories. Despite the fact that the revolutionary road is tortuous and that in the Soviet Union, the home country of the October Revolution, the Khrushchev and Brezhnev renegade cliques have usurped the Party and state power and restored capitalism, this is only an interlude if viewed from the entire process of historical development. The world is advancing; the future is bright. No one can change this general trend in history. Practice in the international communist movement in the past century has proved time and again that the thesis of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat expounded in "Critique of the Gotha Program" is an immutable truth--a truth we have come to understand

still more deeply by reading this work again in light of reality through the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

"Critique of the Gotha Program" is a shining record of the struggle between Marxism and opportunism in the history of the international communist movement. In the 1870's, the center of the international workers' movement was shifted to Germany from France, when the workers' movement in Germany flourished vigorously. At that time, the German proletariat, through a struggle against the Lassalleans and with the direct education and assistance of Marx and Engels, had founded an independent political party--the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party or the Eisenachers. Although the program of this party was not completely free from the influence of Lassallean opportunism, generally speaking, it maintained the spirit of the various demands of the rules of the First International, basically adhered to Marx' revolutionary line, and hence won increasing support among the workers. Opposed to the Eisenachers were the once influential Lassalleans. Losing support from the masses with each passing day because they enforced an opportunist line and catered to the needs of the landlord bourgeois classes, they were extremely isolated. Under this situation, in 1874 the Lassalleans changed their stand of refusing to form an alliance with the Eisenachers and impatiently asked for a merger with the latter in an attempt to save their tottering position.

Faced with this situation, Marx and Engels, who had always attached immense importance to unity and solidarity within the workers' movement in Germany, believed that union was possible, but they again and again warned the leaders of the Eisenachers that on the question of organizational unity, principles must not be bartered away. In a letter to Bebel in March 1875, Engels particularly stressed that absolutely no concessions should be made to the Lassalleans in the field with decisive significance to the program, that is,the theoretical field. "The first condition for the union is that they should not again become sectarians, Lassalleans." However, Liebknecht and others were so interested in the union that, ignoring the advice of Marx and Engels, they went ahead, alone and sacrificing principles. Together with the Lassalleans, they concocted a draft program which departed from the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and which was permeated with Lassallean opportunist views, namely the "Gotha Program," which was later adopted at a meeting combining the two groups. To express his principled attitude toward this program and prevent it from creating adverse influence in the international workers' movement, Marx, before the merger meeting, sternly criticized this draft program paragraph by paragraph and sentence by sentence and wrote the "Marginal Notes to the Program of the German Workers' Party," namely, "Critique of the Gotha Program."

Marx pointed out that the "Gotha Program" was "an awful program that will cause the Party's degeneration." Its essence was its acceptance of the Lassalleans' idea of achieving socialism by relying on "state aid" and abolition of the proletarian revolution. It accepted the Lassalleans' idea of building a "free state" through general elections and sought to abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The "Gotha Program" was made public not long after the Paris Commune revolution of 1871. At that time, Marx and Engels had already summed up the experience of the Paris Commune, and put before the world's proletariat the task of smashing and destroying the ready-made state machine of the bourgeoisie and of establishing a proletarian regime patterned after the Paris Commune. However, Liebknecht and others ignored this important experience and went back to the side of the Lassalleans. "By accepting all the basic Lassallean economic phrases and demands" and accepting his /Lassalle's/ absurd views, judged from the program at least, "the Eisenachers actually became Lassalleans."

The Lassalleans were sham socialists, or essentially bourgeois socialists. Their purpose was to "try to retain the cornerstone of the present-day society under the pretext of reforming society so as to retain the present-day society itself." One can see this clearly by taking a look at the Lassallean dogmas in the "Gotha Program."

The "Gotha Program," evading the system of ownership of the means of production in the very beginning, prattled about labor being the source of all wealth. This was a Lassallean dogma. Marx pointed out: Labor is not the source of all wealth, and nature, like labor, is also a source of wealth. This is because in the production of material wealth, it won't do to have human labor alone, it is also necessary to have the object and means of labor. It is only with these conditions as the premise that, as the saying goes, "labor creates the world." Labor does not have a supernatural creative power. "Only by behaving toward nature, the primary source of all instruments and subjects of labor, from the beginning as an owner," will the laborer produce wealth. In capitalist society, why do workers have to sell their labor power to the capitalists and become their wage slaves? This is because the means of production are in the hands of the capitalists, and the workers have nothing apart from their labor power. By babbling about "labor" while evading the basic issue of who should possess the means of production, the program covered up the capitalist relations of exploitation and the source of exploitation and oppression of the proletariat. Such fallacies are out-and-out bourgeois trash. Since Khrushchev and Brezhnev came on the scene, the socialist system of ownership by the whole people has degenerated into a system of ownership by the bureaucratic, monopoly bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union. Brezhnev and his like, picking up the long-discredited nonsense of Lassalle, have also raised a hue and cry about "labor being the source of wealth," and asked the Soviet people to "work, work and work" so as to cover up the facts of capitalist restoration and the capitalist relations of exploitation and to squeeze still greater profits out of the workers. However, this straw will not save the capitalist system, nor will it save the Soviet revisionist renegade clique from doom.

In the "Gotha Program," a "regression that infuriates people" was to impose Lassalle's "iron law of wages" on the German Party and to regard the struggle against capitalism as being directed at "the abolition of the wage system together with the iron law of wages." The so-called "iron law of wages" was trash Lassalle picked up from bourgeois economists. Its gist was that wages could only stay at the minimum standard of living necessary for the maintenance of the workers'

existence and for their reproduction. If wages were to rise above this level for a long time and the workers' livelihood were improved, this would stimulate the growth of the population, supply would exceed demand in the labor market, and wages would be forced down to their former level. In other words, the poverty of the working class was determined by the natural law of population growth, and no revolution by the working class would change this. Such bourgeois theories had been thoroughly refuted in Marx's "Capital." As Marx pointed out, the root cause of exploitation and enslavement suffered by the working class was the system of wage labor based on the capitalist system of private ownership. To free itself from poverty and enslavement, the working class must thoroughly destroy the system of wage labor through violent revolution. Once the system of wage labor was exterminated, its laws would naturally cease to exist. Marx pointed out: "If I abolish wage labor, then naturally I abolish its laws also, whether they are of 'iron' or sponge." But the draft program evaded the issue of abolition of the system of wage labor; instead, it kept on talking around this so-called "iron law." In fact, it asked the working class to abandon revolution and wait for "state aid" in bringing about the Lassallean-brand socialism. "The iron law of wages" was based on Malthus' notorious population theory. Basing on this reactionary viewpoint, one could only draw the conclusion that all revolutions should be abolished. For "if this theory is correct, then again I cannot abolish the law even if I abolish wage labor a hundred times over, because the law then governs not only the system of wage labor but every social system."

The "Gotha Program" also advocated such Lassallean dogmas as "fair distribution," "equal right," and "undiminished proceeds of labor," repeating the bourgeois economic "theory that distribution is the determinant." Marxism holds that the mode of distribution is determined by the mode of production. To change the capitalist relations of distribution, it is necessary to destroy the capitalist system of private ownership. And to destroy the system of private ownership of the means of production, we can "only use violence to overthrow all existing social systems." Lenin stressed: "The replacement of the bourgeois state with a proletarian state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) cannot be achieved through 'self-extinction.' According to general laws, it can only be achieved through violent revolution." Chairman Mao epitomized this basic principle into a simple formula, that is, "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." Historical experience has proved that this is a truth and that this is the only way for the proletariat to gain its emancipation. All fallacies, from Lassalle's "state aid" to the new and old revisionists' "peaceful transition," betrayed this principle. They were nothing but spiritual weapons with which to defend the capitalist system and oppose the proletarian revolution.

The "Gotha Program" submitted that striving for a "free state" was the political program of Lassallean opportunism. Marxism holds that the state is the product of irreconcilable class contradictions and

is a tool for one class to oppress another. After seizing political power, the proletariat sets up a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat not for the purpose of practicing what is called supra-class "freedom" but for the purpose of suppressing the resistance of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. Lassalle and his followers, hoisting the banner of fighting for a "free state," put forward a series of bourgeois democratic demands such as demanding the right of general elections with the object of safeguarding the joint dictatorship of the big landlord and big bourgeois classes.

While criticizing the reactionary essence of Lassalle's "free state," Marx pointed out: "Between capitalist society and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." This scientific thesis of Marx's was an important development of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat since the publication of "Communist Manifesto."

That between capitalist society and socialist society lies the period of revolutionary transformation is determined by the characteristics of the proletarian revolution and its historical mission. The proletarian revolution is the most profound and most complete revolution in the history of mankind; it is basically different from all previous revolutions. For instance, the bourgeois revolution replaced one system of private ownership with another and one kind of relations of exploitation with another, and the capitalist relations of production could emerge in feudal society and develop over a long period of time. But the proletarian revolution is different, and the socialist relations of production basically cannot grow in capitalist society. The proletariat can establish the socialist system of ownership of the means of production only after it has seized political power through violent revolution. Moreover, after the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production has been in the main completed, it must continue to carry out a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the economic and particularly the political and ideological fronts. Thus the seizure of political power by the proletariat merely marks the beginning of socialist revolution.

Socialist society is the primary phase of communist society; it "has just emerged from capitalist society, and is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it emerges." To eliminate these birthmarks and to move over to the advanced phase of communism, will require a considerably long historical period. In socialist society, the means of production has been transformed from private property of individuals into common property. Bourgeois rights in this field have ceased to exist long ago. But they still exist in other fields. For instance, to each according to his work "in principle is still a bourgeois right." Here, although people may obtain equal amounts of social products by doing equal amounts of social labor, yet because some have stronger labor power and some weaker labor power and some have more children and some fewer, people still differ in the degree of

their wealth, and such differences are unequal. At the same time, the differences between workers and peasants, town and country, manual and mental laborers, which were left over from the old society, still exist. Nor is it possible to do away with the ideology of exploiting classes and the force of old habits overnight. During this revolutionary transformation period, not only will the overthrown exploiting classes attempt to make a comeback and the spontaneous forces of the petty bourgeoisie engender new bourgeois elements, but, owing to the influence and corrosion by the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois spontaneous forces, some people among the workers and Party and state functionaries may also degenerate and become new bourgeois elements and agents of the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao recently pointed out: "Lenin said: 'Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.' This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life." So long as imperialism and social imperialism exist in the world, the domestic reactionaries will always act in concert with foreign reactionaries in activities to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. All this indicates that throughout the historical period of socialism the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is long and tortuous and at times may even become very acute. Politically we must undergo a transitional period and always stick to the dictatorship of the proletariat in this period if we are to crush the resistance of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, prevent capitalist restoration, abolish classes, restrict and ultimately destroy bourgeois rights after a fairly long period of time and realize communism. Marx said: "This socialism is the declaration of the permanence of the revolution, the class dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of class distinctions generally, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations."

The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism. Whether to persist in or oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the historical period of socialism is a touchstone that distinguishes genuine Marxism from sham Marxism. Lenin stated that it was not enough to recognize class struggle alone, and that he is only a Marxist when he extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Nor is it enough to recognize alone the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat to the overthrow of bourgeois rule and expropriating the exploiters. "The essence of Marx' teaching on the state has been mastered only by those who understand that the dictatorship of a class is necessary not only for the class society in general and the proletariat which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire historical period which separates capitalism from 'classless society,' from communism." While making no reference to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the "Gotha Program" proposed such things as using legal means to fight for a 'free state,' thereby fully exposing its opportunist essence. Stepping

into Lassalle's shoes, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique have concocted the fallacy of "the state of the whole people" and cried aloud that "the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer needed before the abolition of the state," thus showing that they are the deadly enemy of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our great leader Chairman Mao, in his struggle against modern revisionism and opportunism within the Party, has summed up in an all-round manner the positive and negative historical experiences of the international communist movement and developed the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He has incisively analyzed the laws governing the struggle between the two classes and two roads after the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production has been basically completed. In advancing the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, he has formulated for our Party a basic line for the entire historical period of socialism. In unambiguous terms Chairman Mao points out: "Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line." The great proletarian cultural revolution, personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, has further solved the most important question of the time both theoretically and in practice--how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent a capitalist restoration under socialist conditions. The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, which is being conducted in a thoroughgoing, widespread and sustained way, is a political and ideological struggle in the realm of the superstructure through which the proletariat will triumph over the bourgeoisie and socialism over capitalism. It is also aimed at consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing the restoration of capitalism, and persisting in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Recently Chairman Mao again gave an important instruction on the question of theory. He pointed out: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation." He also pointed out: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, there being the eight-grade wage system, etc. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus it would be quite easy for people like Lin Piao to push the capitalist system if they come to power." This extremely important instruction given by

Chairman Mao theoretically expounds the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat and profoundly analyzes the social basis for the emergence of a revisionist line. It has tremendous current and far-reaching historical significance for us in further implementing the Party's basic line, consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, persisting in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and effectively waging the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism.

Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao were renegades from the dictatorship of the proletariat. They denied that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between socialism and capitalism is the principal contradiction in socialist society. They negated the need for the proletariat to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including the various spheres of culture, and the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat to restrict those bourgeois rights still in existence. Lin Piao followed Confucius by dishing up a reactionary program for "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" in a vain attempt to radically change the Party's basic line, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, and restore capitalism. Under the pretext of attacking Ch'in Shih Huang, he viciously attacked the dictatorship of the proletariat and clamored for building what he called a "truly socialist" state with a "benevolent government." His so-called "truly socialist" state was no different from the old opportunist chieftain Lassalle's "free state" and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's "whole-people state." In saying so, he actually wanted to have landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists as well as a handful of new bourgeois elements like them come to power and establish a fascist Lin dynasty.

The struggle between the Marxist line and the Lassallean opportunist line in the German Party was focused on the question of whether to keep to the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat or to abolish them. Our struggle against the two anti-Party cliques of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao has also centered on the question of whether to adhere to or oppose the Party's basic line and to consolidate or subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. This struggle will go on in the future. Therefore, conscientiously studying the basic Marxist theory on class struggle, proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat is a long-term task. All opportunists are invariably in the habit of creating confusion in the theoretical sphere. In his agitating pamphlet, Lassalle mixed up Marx's correct views with his own erroneous ones so that people could not discern the differences between them. Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and other swindlers have also played the same kinds of tricks. The naked eye is not enough in telling the true from the false, and we must have the aid of the telescope and microscope of Marxism. One major reason why Liebknecht committed errors on questions of principle was that he was "always muddleheaded on the question of theory," being unable to draw a line of demarcation between Marxism and Lassallean opportunism. This is a lesson we must seriously study. Theory is the basis of line. "Without revolutionary theory there cannot be a powerful socialist party." To be a conscious proletarian revolutionary one must assiduously study

Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's works, grasp the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method, and link study with criticism, so that in the course of the struggle to criticize the bourgeoisie and revisionism, he may temper and improve himself. Chairman Mao recently again called on the us to "read some more Marxist-Leninist works." Complying with Chairman Mao's instructions, we should conscientiously study the major works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao on the dictatorship of the proletariat, raise our consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and of the need to continue the revolution, implement the Party's basic line still more consciously, carry out the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius well, and strive to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and consolidate and develop the economic base of socialism.

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Criticize Following the Beaten Path and Sticking to the Old, Persevere in Continued Revolution

by

Liang Hsiao (梁 效)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 3, March 1, 1975)

Chairman Mao pointed out recently: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation." Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory teaches us to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and to carry the continued revolution through to the end under this dictatorship. Following the beaten path and sticking to the old has always been a serious obstacle to the progress of revolution. From Confucius to Lin Piao, all reactionaries made use of the idea of following the beaten path and sticking to the old to oppose social change and restore the old system. In studying Chairman Mao's important instruction on theory and deepening the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, we must criticize following the beaten path and sticking to the old and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Deprive Reactionaries of the Weapon for Restoration and Regression

In every major social upheaval, the struggle between reform and progress on the one hand and following the beaten path and sticking to the old on the other invariably has concrete class content. While the revolutionary classes call for the overthrow of the old system and the establishment and consolidation of a new social system, the reactionary classes always defend and restore the old system and oppose the new social system.

In the era of major social change marked by the replacement of the slave system by the feudal system, Confucius, in order to hold back the wheels of society, cried aloud that "Chou copied its institutions from Yin" and that "even a hundred generations later people will know that the rites of Chou were being followed." He described social history as a process of repetition from generation to generation, regarding the slave system of Western Chou as being passed down to the hundred generations and eternally changeless. He called himself "a transmitter and not a maker, a man who believes in and loves antiquity." By this, he meant that he would only reiterate what had happened in the past and would not create anaything new, and that he had blind faith in and was fond of everything that belonged to the ancient times. Mencius trumpeted: "Not for a moment do I forget that everything must be done according to the old regulations. There has never been a man who

goes wrong because he abides by the rules of the early kings." He asked people to remember the slave system, to do all things according to traditional rules and regulations, and to follow the system set by the "early kings," and they would never go wrong by doing so. In propagating so fanatically the idea of following the beaten path and sticking to the old, they had but one aim: "to restrain oneself and return to propriety," to defend and restore the dark rule and brutal dictatorship of the slave-owners.

Waging a tit-for-tat struggle against Confucius and Mencius, representatives of the declining slave-owning class, the Legalists, taking the stand of the newly emerging landlord class and going along with the trends of historical development, courageously put forward the slogan "Let us neither follow the ancient practices nor abide by a fixed standard." Opposing "learning from the early kings," they called for "learning from the latter kings" and adhered to a reform line. The newly emerging feudal system was established in the midst of the struggle to continually criticize the Confucian idea of following the beaten path and sticking to the old and smash the slave-owners' restorationist and regressive activities. However, having consolidated its rule and in order to protect its vested interests and privileges, the landlord class gradually abandoned the reform spirit of the Legalist school and with each passing day headed for conservatism and reaction. When Wang An-shih of the Northern Sung called for "political reforms" in order to "save the country considerably weakened by following the old rules," the big landlord diehard Ssuma Kuang and others immediately rose to attack him, yelling, "the laws of our ancestors cannot be changed." This showed that the decadent ruling class was conservative by nature and was afraid of reform as if it were a tiger. In China's feudal society, the basic factors hindering social development were the ruthless exploitation and oppression of the peasantry by the landlord class, which were inseparable from the prolonged predominance of the Confucian ideas of following the beaten path and sticking to the old, ideas of restoration and regression.

Today, we are in a new period of big social change where socialism is defeating capitalism. The renegade and traitor Lin Piao, acting perversely, copied the "old musical scores" of all reactionaries in history and loudly sang the "old tunes" which they had "not yet finished singing," and did all he could to advocate following the beaten path and sticking to the old. "Lodging" in the socialist new China, he preached that "old rules must not be abolished" and "old precedents must not be reduced," and regarded them as "laws." He wrote "remember the instructions of our ancestors" on his calendar as a daily reminder and always bore in mind the "laws of the ancestors" of the landlord and bourgeois classes. When the great proletarian cultural revolution was vigorously developing throughout the country in the second half of 1966, Lin Piao, this restorationist maniac, hid himself in a dark corner and advocated "restoring the old system," viciously clamoring for changing the socialist system. All this can be summed up in one point: use the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in an attempt to radically alter the Party's basic line,

subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, restore capitalism and make China go back to the semi-colonial and semi-feudal society.

History is a mirror. From Confucius' and Mencius' "faith in and fondness for antiquity" and "doing everything according to old regulations" to Lin Piao's "remembering the instructions of our ancestors" and "never abolishing the old rules," it is clearly seen that the reactionaries' advocacy of following the beaten path and sticking to the old is always closely related to activities to push the line that stands for "returning to propriety" and "going back to the old," to stage restoration and regression. They are afraid of reform and innovation because "the deeper the revolution digs at the old site, the more difficult it will be to restore the old system." Sticking to the old and fearing the new are two aspects with one aim: to defend the reactionary relations of production and superstructure which had long become out-dated and to restore the rule of the declining classes and the old system which is rotten to the core. Owing to prolonged propaganda and advocacy by reactionary rulers, following the beaten path and sticking to the old has become a traditional habit in the society of private ownership, "a force of inertia in history." If we do not wage a resolute fight against it, it will be difficult to introduce reforms and innovation in every field. Thus, for us to criticize following the beaten path and sticking to the old has always been one of the important aspects of insistence on progress and opposition to regression, our insistence on revolution and opposition to restoration.

Dig Away the Soil Breeding Capitalism

It is a long-term fighting task to continue to criticize and repudiate the practice of following the beaten path and sticking to the old under socialist conditions. It is a task with vital significance to combating and preventing revisionism and to consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Socialist society is a society of transition from capitalism to communism. This brand new social system is by far superior to and stronger than the capitalist system. But because it has just emerged from the old society, it "cannot free itself entirely from capitalist traditions or birthmarks," and there still exist in it classes, class contradictions and class struggle as well as bourgeois right. That is why this period has to be a period of struggle between decaying capitalism and growing communism. Socialism is a cause without precedent; it must break down the conventions of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. Each victory won by socialism serves as the starting point for continuing the revolution, and not its end. In short, as its nature and characteristics dictate, socialist society cannot follow the beaten path nor stick to the old, nor halt its pace and change nothing. Marx stated long ago: "Socialism is a declaration of perpetual revolution, the class dictatorship of the proletariat."

Contrariwise, "the bourgeoisie always and most hypocritically looks upon socialism as something ossified, frozen, changeless." They are most afraid of continued revolution and oppose all reforms that cause

socialism to develop forward in order that they may retain more and extend the vestiges of the old society and restore capitalism in an all-round manner. Liu Shao-ch'i's "consolidation of the new democratic order" in the early 1950's was such a frozen and hypocritical slogan that it was designed to oppose the socialist revolution in an attempt to "consolidate" and develop the capitalist forces. After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was in the main completed, the bourgeoisie stubbornly defended certain positions in the realm of the superstructure and opposed the proletariat taking them over. They stepped up their effort to make use of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and all feudal, capitalist and revisionist ideas to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat and wreck the economic foundation of socialism. In the economic sphere, they desperately opposed restricting that part of the bourgeois right which still existed. Hating the communist consciousness of the revolutionary masses and making use of certain people who were unwilling to work half an hour more or receive a penny less than others, they practiced "material incentives" on a mass scale in an effort to extend bourgeois right and develop capitalism. In the rural areas they opposed the demand of the poor and lower-middle peasants for taking the socialist road and encouraged the growth of spontaneous forces and incited capitalist tendencies by making use of the private ownership concept of small producers as well as old ideas and habits of some peasants. Capitalism and the bourgeoisie may also be engendered in small production, among a section of the working class and a section of Party members. Within the ranks of proletariat and personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life. Some state-owned economic units are nominally run under the socialist system of ownership, but actually leadership is not in the hands of Marxists and the broad masses of workers. Did these facts of class struggle not exist in the past and do they still exist at present? If we ignore these facts and do not resolutely impose dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, we will see the socialist system disrupted and capitalism restored.

The more vigorously the bourgeoisie tries by hook or by crook to defend the traditions or birthmarks of the old society and restore the old system, the greater the need for the proletariat to foster socialist new things energetically. Proceeding from this point, Lenin, after the October Revolution, stressed that apart from guarding against imperialist aggression, the dictatorship of the proletariat must relentlessly suppress the resistance of the exploiters, vanquish the spontaneous forces of small producers, and educate the whole people in the communist spirit. He praised the unpaid "communist saturday voluntary labor" as a "great beginning," and regarded "being entirely free from old views, the mentality of sticking to the old and old habits" as a communist principle. Even up to the eve of his death, in his last few articles Lenin pointed out that in struggles against the new bourgeoisie, against the bureaucracy within Party and Soviet organs and against the "most rotton habits of following the beaten path and sticking to the old," it was necessary to overhaul and streamline organs. All this was aimed at eliminating the old forces and old traditions, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and digging away the soil breeding capitalism.

After summing up the historical experiences of our Party and the international communist movement and, in particular, the historical lessons drawn from the degeneration of the first socialist state into social-imperialism after the rise of revisionism to power in the Soviet Union, Chairman Mao advanced the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and laid down for our Party a basic line for the entire historical phase of socialism. He pointed out: "Before a brand-new social system can be built on the site of the old, the site must be swept clean." Taking the Party's basic line as the key link and giving priority to destruction, we must continue to criticize the old system and old ideology; on the basis of the basic law of the unity of opposites, we must recognize the fact that in socialist society the relations of production and the productive forces, the superstructure and the economic base, are compatible with each other in some respects but are contradictory to each other in others. We must pay close attention to grasping the socialist revolution in the sphere of the superstructure, to solving problems in respect to the relations of production, to relying on the masses of people to build socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results so as to gradually eliminate the traces left behind by the old society in the political, economic, ideological and cultural fields and create step by step the conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise. In socialist society, following the beaten path and sticking to the old means, in the final analysis, sticking to the old of capitalism and resisting the new of socialism and communism. To criticize following the beaten path and sticking to the old means adhering to the socialist direction and criticizing capitalism; it means persisting in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and opposing restoration and regression. This is a question of principle concerning the struggle between the two classes and the two lines. The process of this criticism is also a process of the proletariat exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, "fighting self-interest, criticizing revisionism," and making a radical rupture with the traditional relations of ownership and traditional concepts. Here, the struggle to destroy what is old and set up what is new by far surpasses all previous revolutions both in breadth and in depth. Historically, the landlord and bourgeoisie classes, while they were on the rise, had opposed the practice of following the beaten path and sticking to the old and had introduced reforms and revolutionary changes, yet on the basic question of substituting one system of exploitation for another and exploiting and oppressing the laboring people, they did not change anything. The proletariat must thoroughly eliminate exploitation and oppression in all forms, liberate the whole of mankind, and ultimately realize communism. The task of thoroughly criticizing following the beaten path and sticking to the old in all respects can only be discharged by the most revolutionary and the greatest class armed with Marxism. We must deepen our understanding of this and raise our consciousness of the need to criticize following the beaten path and sticking to the old on the plane of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and keeping to the Party's basic program.

Up-Side-Down Philosophy

In terms of world outlook, following the beaten path and sticking to the old is a manifestation of idealism and metaphysics. In criticizing this practice, we must dig deep at its ideological root and unfold a struggle between two ideological lines.

The objective material world is full of contradictions and is forever changing and developing. "In the fragrant forest new leaves replace the old; in the river waves rise after waves." The revolutionary classes defeat the reactionary ones and the new system defeats the old. "In the world the old is always superseded by the new, the new always replaces the old, the old is eliminated and the new prevails or the old is weeded through to let the new emerge." The proletariat insists on correctly knowing and changing the world according to the objective laws governing the development of things; it consciously gets rid of the influence of old ideas and old habits, firmly criticizes the bourgeois world outlook, and enhances and strengthens the revolutionary great unity of the broad masses on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It always looks forward and not backward and unites on the broad path of continuing the revolution to win new and still greater victories. However, the diehards who follow the beaten path and stick to the old cling to the bourgeois world outlook, always attempt to create regression and a split, hinder the united struggle of the revolutionary people and the advance of the revolutionary cause. Their reactionary class stand determines that their line of knowledge is not from the objective to the subjective, but, as Lin Piao advocated, "the other way round, from the subjective to the objective." The world is progressing, but they want it to go backward; things are being continually "renewed," but they try their best to "stick to the old." In their eyes, "things that have always been done are precious things." Even in the case of an abscess, "the swelling is as beautiful as the peach blossom; when it bursts, it is as tasty as cheese." They are accustomed to looking upon all things as frozen and changeless. If there were changes, they merely represented simple repetitions of things and there would not be any qualitative changes. Therefore, they want to forever "follow the beaten path," take over all the old things, "do everything according to the old regulations," "neither abolishing them" nor "reducing them." These people are like Shenkung Pao, with their eyes always fixed on the past, always loving antiquity and copying from their ancestors and always rolling the wheels of history backward.

Obviously, following the beaten path and sticking to the old is an "up-side-down" philosophy, a "world outlook that has been turned upside down." Now as in the past and in China as elsewhere, all reactionaries who keep to the perverse course practice this "up-side-down" philosophy in an attempt to restore their "paradise" that has collapsed. Such a philosophy was embodied in Dühring's "world model" and "ultimate truth" theory in Europe, and in China was embodied in the "doctrine of the mean" advocated by Confucius and Mencius and in the doctrine of Tung Chung-shu that "Heaven does not change, so the Way will not change." Such a metaphysical notion "was for a long time supported by the decadent feudal ruling classes." Like a spell, it tightly shackled the brains of people. However, historical

dialectics is irresistible. No matter how hard the reactionaries try to advocate sticking to the old and changing nothing, the human society is like the huge river "flowing to the sea and never turning back," with waves forever roaring. Unable to stem the tides of history, Confucius could only sigh that the slave system had vanished as if carried away by the river water, and he himself was "like a homeless dog." Lin Piao, this diehard who tried to turn everything "upside down," had to change too--into "an onion shoot planted upside down," into dog's dung spurned by mankind!

"Were Heaven sentient, she too would grow old; in man's world mulberry fields turn into sea." In the world everything changes, "everything flows." The opposites in a contradiction always transform into each other under given conditions. Merely 25 years have passed from 1949 up to now, but through the various socialist revolution movements, particularly through the great proletarian cultural revolution and the current extensive movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, China's complexion has changed significantly. Another 25 years hence, China's complexion will undergo even greater changes. We will certainly be able to build our country into a powerful modern socialist state within this century. In 1962 Chairman Mao pointed out: "From now on, within the next 50 years to the next 100 years, is a great era that will see a complete change in the social system of the world; it is an era with cataclysmic changes, far surpassing those of all previous historical epochs." We must, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, continue to expose the reactionaries and the metaphysical, erroneous notions, propagate the dialectics inherent in things, oppose the practice of following the beaten path and sticking to the old, and persist in reform and innovation. We must oppose restoration and regression, persevere in continuing the revolution, and consciously be critics of the old world and promoters of the new. The future belongs to the proletariat!

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Strengthen Revolutionary Unity for the Consolidation of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

by

Yü T'ung (俞 彤)

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Our great leader Chairman Mao recently issued an important instruction on the question of theory. He pointed out: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation." This instruction points out for the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country the direction of united struggle in persistently continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must conscientiously study the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on the dictatorship of the proletariat, fully understand the great historical mission of the proletariat, further strengthen the unity of the working class and the revolutionary people throughout the country under Party leadership, effectively wage the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism, and carry the socialist revolution through to the end.

The proletariat is the greatest class in the history of mankind. It must not only overthrow the rule of the landlord and capitalist classes but also substitute the dictatorship of the proletariat for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, use socialism to defeat capitalism, completely abolish all classes, and ultimately realize communism. To accomplish this noble cause, it must continue to strengthen its own revolutionary unity and unite with everyone with whom it can unite to wage the struggle. The great leaders of the proletarian revolution always attached immense importance to revolutionary unity. In "Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels issued this solemn call: "Proletarians of the whole world, unite!" The historical experience of the international communist movement over the past century and more vividly proves: the unity of the proletariat and the revolutionary people founded on the basis of the Marxist line is a mighty force in vanquishing the bourgeoisie, revisionism and all class enemies, a basic condition for scoring continuous victories in the proletarian revolutionary cause. The history of our Party over the past 50 years and more also bears this truth out. In the historical course of leading the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao has always regarded the unity of the Party and the unity of people as "the basic guarantee for the sure triumph of our cause." In both the period of the democratic revolution and the period of the socialist revolution, our Party, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and relying on the firm unity of the working class and the people throughout the country, defeated the class enemies at home and abroad and inside and outside the Party, overcame all sorts of dangers and difficulties, and continued to win one new victory after another.

Through the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we have destroyed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and smashed their plots to restore capitalism. The whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country have never been so united, and the dictatorship of the proletariat has never been so consolidated. However, as Lenin pointed out, "The dictatorship of the proletariat means stubborn struggles against the forces and traditions of the old society, including bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative struggles." The historical task of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to suppress the resistance and restorationist activities of the overthrown exploiting classes, to resist armed aggression and subversion by imperialism and social-imperialism, to continue to dig up soil that breeds the bourgeoisie and revisionism, to restrict the bourgeois rights, and to deepen the revolution in the ideological sphere. This task is more complicated and arduous than seizing state power and completion of socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production by the proletariat. It requires us to further strengthen the revolutionary unity of the working class and the people of the whole country and to carry out protracted, stubborn and united struggle.

After summing up the experiences of the ten struggles between the two lines in our Party, Chairman Mao set forth three basic principles: "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire," regarding "unite, and don't split" as an important mark distinguishing the correct line from the erroneous line. This has enabled the whole Party and the people of the whole country to further recognize the importance of strengthening revolutionary unity on the high plane of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism. The historical experience of class struggle proves that, in carrying out the great struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is necessary to resolutely oppose all acts that undermine revolutionary unity and divide the revolutionary ranks. Class enemies at home and abroad are aware that the firm unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country founded on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is the biggest obstacle to their plot to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. That is why they are extremely afraid of it and hate it most, while trying by hook or by crook to wreck it. They vainly attempt to attack and capture the strong citadel of the dictatorship of the proletariat from within. Therefore, the struggle between those who promote unity and those who promote a split is an important aspect of the class and line struggles under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Standing firm for unity and opposing a split are important parts of the struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Since the founding of new China, there have been four major line struggles within the Party. From the Kao Kang - Jao Shu-shih anti-Party alliance, P'eng Te-huai's counter-revolutionary military club, Liu Shao-ch'i's recruitment of a gang of renegades and turncoats to work for his private interests to the renegade and traitor Lin Piao's rigging up a counter-revolutionary "fleet" and attempt to set up a separate Central Committee, one of their common characteristics was a futile bid to use the conspiratorial tactic of dividing the Party and

the masses to destroy the unity of the Party and the revolutionary ranks in order to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Of course, the development of history is contrary to their wishes. One after another they crushed their heads against the wall of revolutionary unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country built under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Many facts in real life also tell us: the unity of the revolutionary ranks is an important guarantee for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and for carrying out the socialist revolution and construction. Where the line is correct and revolutionary unity is forged well, there revolution and production are seething with fervor, socialist justice prevails, the bourgeois winds are suppressed, the class enemies are isolated, and the dictatorship of the proletariat is strengthened. Contrariwise, where the line is incorrect and unity is loose, the class enemies will take the opportunity to stir up trouble, capitalist ideas will revive, evil winds will rise, and the dictatorship of the proletariat will be weakened. Facts show clearly that the struggle between unity and disunity is always linked with the question of whether to consolidate or weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat. To achieve their criminal aims in the face of the powerful dictatorship of the proletariat, the class enemies will invariably resort to more camouflaged and sinister means to sow seeds of dissension, spread rumors and slander, create division, and undermine unity within our revolutionary ranks. Against this we must maintain constant vigilance, and we must pay attention to summing up positive as well as negative experiences and further raise our consciousness of the need to forge revolutionary unity well.

The dictatorship of the proletariat represents the fundamental interests of the working class and the vast masses. Under the common goal of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is a solid basis for workers and revolutionary people to unite, and they must and can unite closely. The great teacher Lenin pointed out: "Revolution can promptly unite the people and inspire them. Every step forward the revolution takes awakens the masses and, with irresistible strength, draws the masses over to the side of the revolutionary program." The penetrating development of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius over the past year or so has once more attested to this. In the course of this movement, the masses of people have deeply criticized Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius he advocated, criticized the crimes of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique in splitting the Party and the revolutionary ranks, raised their consciousness of the need to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and greatly enhanced and strengthened their revolutionary unity. Facts prove that the masses will have a common revolutionary goal, socialist initiative will be aroused continuously among them, there will be no market for evil capitalist practices, many contradictions seemingly difficult to resolve will be solved more easily, and revolutionary unity will be quickly strengthened if we firmly enforce

the Party's basic line, broaden, deepen and persevere in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, persistently take the socialist road, criticize capitalist tendencies, and earnestly grasp the class and line struggles as the key link.

In order to strengthen revolutionary unity under the common goal of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, the most important thing is to understand clearly why it is necessary to exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. It is only when we are armed with the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat that we can consciously transform and improve ourselves in the course of struggle and be good promoters of revolutionary unity. The same is true for the unity of the working class. The working class, too, lives in a class society, not in a vacuum. As Lenin pointed out profoundly, "The workers were never separated by a Chinese wall from the old society." Ideas and bad traditional habits of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes are constantly striving to corrode the revolutionary ranks through various channels. Because of the existence of classes, class struggle and bourgeois rights in socialist society, not only will small producers engender capitalism and the bourgeoisie, but among a section of Party members, a section of workers, and a section of personnel of state organs there are some people who may follow the bourgeois style of life and new bourgeois elements may arise. The influence and attack of bourgeois ideas have always been serious corrosives to the revolutionary unity of our ranks. Why is it that our revolutionary unity and sense of organization and discipline sometimes encounter interference? Why are some people enthusiastic about struggling for fame and wealth, pursuing the interest of small mountain strongholds and not willing to unite more comrades to work side by side? Why do some people bargain over personal material gains instead of engaging in labor and work in a communist way? This state of affairs reflects the presence and influence of remnants of the old society such as bourgeois rights, and makes it clear that protracted and arduous struggle still has to be waged to eradicate bourgeois ideas, traditions and bad habits. Without seriously criticizing bourgeois ideas, it will be impossible to arrive at genuine unity on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought. We must therefore study the writings of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao on the dictatorship of the proletariat, arm ourselves with revolutionary theories, consciously link our study with transformation of our world outlook, increase our ability to resist and overcome the influence of bourgeois ideology. Only when we enhance our communist consciousness can we lay a solid basis for revolutionary unity.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is dictatorship by the majority over the minority, a dictatorship by hundreds of millions of people over a minority of exploiters. The masses of people, with the workers, peasants and soldiers as the mainstay, are the basic force, and source of victory, of this dictatorship. Only when the whole of the working class is united, when the working class is united with its most reliable ally, the poor and lower-middle peasants, and when the people of all nationalities throughout the country are united to form a mighty revolutionary army can we have a strong force and fight jointly for the great task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party.

To unite with all forces that can be united with, it is necessary to study Chairman Mao's theory on the two types of social contradictions and correctly differentiate and handle the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people. To strengthen revolutionary unity is also a question of how to correctly handle the contradictions among the people on the basis of strictly differentiating the two different types of contradictions. Only by handling various contradictions among the people correctly under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line can we unite still more closely under the common goal of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. To correctly handle the contradictions among the people, we must stick to the principle of "unity-criticism-unity" and "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient." This has been the only correct method used by our Party in solving the contradictions both within the Party and among the people over many years, and we must keep to this method. Questions within the scope of class and line struggles exist among the people also, and toward these questions, we must not only uphold principle but also make concrete analysis of concrete questions. With regard to certain controversies and differences of opinion among the masses, we advocate "letting others speak of their own shortcomings and mistakes and letting each of us make more self-criticism in order to seek common ground on major matters while reserving differences on minor ones," so as to unite to deal with the common enemy. We are convinced that the great majority of people want revolution and want to take the socialist road. The masses of people, while further transforming themselves in struggle and cleansing themselves of the filth from the old society, will break completely not only with the traditional system of ownership but also with traditional ideas. It is always good to have more people in the revolution. The more people are united, the more the cause of socialism will thrive and the easier it will be to fulfill the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat right through to every grassroots unit.

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Forever Preserve the Proletarian Revolutionary Spirit

by

Yen Ch'ün (严 群)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/ No. 3, March 1, 1975)

Our great leader Chairman Mao says: "We must maintain the same vigor, the same revolutionary zeal and the same death-defying spirit as displayed in the past revolutionary war, and carry our revolutionary work through to the end." All Communists and revolutionary comrades who are persistently continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, should make such a demand on themselves.

In the several decades of revolutionary war where fighting raged on and on, what a brilliant struggle the vast numbers of our Party members and cadres and the masses had waged under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party! At that time the material life was so poor that each of us had only a little food with a little edible oil and salt, and yet fighting was so frequent. However, all of us were so energetic, so utterly responsible to our work and extremely warm to the people. United as one, the army and the people, we wholeheartedly dedicated ourselves to the liberation of the Chinese nation, to the cause of liberation of the proletariat and the whole of mankind. Many revolutionary fighters charged forward at the front in the rain of bullets, willing to lay down their lives; defying the death threat of the enemy, they treated death as going home. In this extremely trying environment, unyieldingly and brilliantly they accomplished the tasks given them by the Party. Difficulties and hardships tempered our Party, our army and our people. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and uniting the people of the whole nation, our Party finally toppled the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and won the great victory of the Chinese people's revolution.

In a report to the 2nd plenary session of the 7th Party Central Committee, Chairman Mao pointed out, "To win countrywide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li." And he cautioned the whole Party in these words: "With victory, certain moods may grow within the Party--arrogance, the airs of a self-styled hero, inertia and unwillingness to make progress, love of pleasure and distaste for continued hard living..... There may be some Communists, who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets; they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets. We must guard against such a situation." This instruction of far-reaching significance required us to persist in continuing revolution and guard against bourgeois erosion under new historical conditions. After more than twenty years of practice, we still find this teaching extremely heartening today. In the course of socialist revolution and socialist construction, the overwhelming majority of our Party members and cadres have continued to display, during the storms of class and line struggles, the same revolutionary

spirit shown in the war years. Many old comrades have persisted in continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and although their positions have changed, they have not changed their class feelings and attitude of sharing the same lot with the masses of the people. Their living conditions have changed, but they have not changed their style of hard struggle and plain living. Thousands upon thousands of new cadres are studying and carrying forward with the revolutionary traditions of their forerunners, and are growing up vigorously and sturdily. This is the main aspect of the matter. But there are some people who have become so conceited that they halt their march and suffer defeat by bourgeois sugar-coated bullets. This is a reflection of class struggle, and is nothing strange.

Why is it that some people have consistently maintained the same vigor as displayed during the past revolutionary war period while others have lost it? The basic reason is to be sought in whether or not they have set up the idea of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In history, the exploiting classes, before they seized the ruling power and for some time afterward, were revolutionary. Subsequently, however, due to their own limitations and as their opposites, the revolutionary classes,grew gradually and fought against them, they turned into reactionaries and opposed the revolution. The proletariat, unlike all exploiting classes, has the historical task of completely overthrowing the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes, replacing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with its own dictatorship, using socialism to defeat capitalism, and ultimately realizing communism. And only by emancipating the whole of mankind can the proletariat finally emancipate itself. This great historical task makes it necessary for the proletariat not only to carry out a valiant struggle to seize political power during the revolutionary war period but also, after its seizure of political power, to maintain and display the same vigor, revolutionary enthusiasm and death-defying spirit in ceaseless strivings for China's revolutionary cause and for the liberation of the proletariat and all humanity.

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period in which there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle. The seizure of political power by the proletariat does not mean the end of class struggle but its continuation in new forms. The struggle between the two classes and the two roads remains protracted and complex. The overthrown exploiting classes, unreconciled to their extinction, always attempt to stage a comeback. "Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale." Today, although small producers have been collectivized, yet the force of their habits still exists. Among a section of workers and a section of the Party members there are also some people who follow the bourgeois style of life. In face of this situation, our Party members, cadres and the masses should be able to resist corrosion, maintain an abundancy of revolutionary militancy, promote the revolutionary style and fine traditions of the proletariat, and carry the revolutionary work through to the end.

Chairman Mao pointed out recently, "Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, there being the eight-grade wage system, etc. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." In the historical phase of socialism, bourgeois right still cannot be entirely abolished but should be restricted. What attitude one takes toward bourgeois right--to approve of its restriction or to call for its continued extension--is an important indication of whether one will continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As early as in 1957, Chairman Mao pointed out: "A dangerous tendency has shown itself of late among many of our personnel--an unwillingness to share the joys and hardships of the masses, a concern for personal fame and gain. This is very bad." These people do not compare their work, zeal and contribution to the revolution with those of others; they only compare with others for wages, treatment and material comfort, chasing after and extending bourgeis right in every way. If these ideas are not eliminated, how is it possible to generate revolutionary zeal, enthusiasm and death-defying spirit? After the October Revolution, Lenin said, "Only those who were the first to go to the front can join our Party; those who could not fight should prove on the spot what they mean by a worker's political party and should show that they have really applied communist principle." We should make demands on ourselves according to communist principle and wholeheartedly work for the Party and the people. In the years of revolutionary war, we had to have the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death; in the period of socialism, we must likewise promote the same spirit on the battlefields of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. The reason why the workers of the Tach'ing Oilfield and the poor and lower-middle peasants of the Tachai brigade have become models to be emulated by the people of the whole country is that, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, they have from beginning to end persisted in continued revolution, adhered to the socialist path and doggedly resisted the erosion of bourgeois ideology.

Within our ranks some comrades are afraid of hardships and are reluctant to go to difficult places, or else, lacking the lofty ambition of building socialism, they are content with "small but steady progress." Alternatively, they steer away from contradictions and dare not fight against bad people and bad deeds and things detrimental to the interests of the people, and instead want to "make revolution peacefully." Or, their revolutionary will seriously declining, they seek a life of leisure and pleasure. In the final analysis, all this is because they lack or basically have not established the concept of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must shout at these comrades and wake them up. The socialist revolution is advancing unceasingly, and the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines is protracted. Once a Party member has the mood of indifference to progress, he will fall behind the wheels of the revolution or may even fall into the quagmire of revisionism to pose a stumbling block to the revolution. Are such cases few and far between?

In accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction, we must read and study seriously and have a good grasp of Marxism. At present, it is most important to conscientiously study the theories of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Through this study, we will further understand the laws of class struggle in the socialist period, the harmony and conflict between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base, the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the social basis engendering revisionism and the vital significance of combating and preventing revisionism. While transforming the objective world, we must transform our own subjective world, develop the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat and forever preserve the style of hard struggle and plain living displayed by the personnel in Yenan and in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia border region during the revolutionary war period, so that we will completely dedicate ourselves to the struggle for the interests of the great majority of people in all China and the world and be conscious revolutionary fighters of the proletariat.

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Strive to Remold World Outlook

by

T'ien Chih-sung (田志松)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 3, March 1, 1975)

While studying Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, Communists and revolutionary cadres and all comrades within the revolutionary ranks should further raise their consciousness in remolding their world outlook.

We are now in the historical phase of socialist society. In view of the basic nature of this historical period, all revolutionaries are acutely confronted with the important task of remolding their world outlook. As socialist society "has just emerged from the capitalist society, it is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it emerges". The socialist period is a period of struggle between decaying capitalism and growing communism. Although the landlord and bourgeois classes have been overthrown, these people and these classes still exist. All the time they dream of changing the world and turn their hopes for restoration into actions for restoration. And even though they are in an inferior position economically and politically, they will always attempt to use their "hereditary domain" within the ideological and cultural fields to attack the proletariat and install the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In order to realize their dream of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restorating capitalism, they often attempt to poison the minds of the masses with the rotton ideas of the exploiting classes, and, in particular, try by hook or by crook to corrupt and woo the Party members and revolutionary cadres, in addition to seeking agents within the ranks of the proletariat. At the same time, the ranks of the proletariat are often influenced by the spontaneous capitalist forces of small producers. Lenin pointed out: "Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale." Small producers in our country have taken the road of socialist collectivation through socialist transformation, such transformation has not been fully completed in the economic field, and the task of transformation in the political and ideological fields is even more arduous. Spontaneous capitalist trends still prevail among a section of people, and they are encircling and affecting the proletariat from all directions. Besides, the differences between workers and peasants, between town and country and between mental and manual labor still exist, and so do bourgeois rights reflecting these differences. These are the reasons why soil breeding capitalism and revisionism still exists in socialist society. We are living in a society replete with acute struggles between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the two roads, socialist and capitalist.

Class struggle in society is bound to be reflected within the Party and the revolutionary ranks. The problem is whether we can recognize, resist and beat back the frantic onslaughts of the landlord and bourgeois

classes as well as erosion of all sorts of non-proletarian thoughts, including the concept of bourgeois right; and this, in the final analysis, depends upon whether it is the proletariat world outlook or the bourgeois world outlook that plays the dominant role in our heads. If our comrades can really arm themselves with the proletarian world outlook, they will be able to adhere firmly to the proletarian stand in the complex class struggle, beat the attack of the landlord and bourgeois classes in the economic, political and ideological fields, and forever preserve the fighting youth of a revolutionary. If, however, they do not recognize the significance of remolding their world outlook from the viewpoint of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat but relax their efforts in remolding their world outlook, they will lose all their fighting capacity in the face of the mad and crafty attacks of the landlord and bourgeois classes, and may even degenerate and fall into the quagmire of revisionism to become new bourgeois elements. This requires our special attention.

Bourgeois rights inevitably remain in socialist society. Chairman Mao points out: "China is a socialist country. Before liberation she was much the same as capitalism. Even now she practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution to each according to his work and exchange by means of money, which are scarcely different from those in the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has changed." The problem of whether our revolutionaries can persistently continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and consciously strive to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, is directly affected by whether they can correctly deal with bourgeois right with the proletarian world outlook. From the world view of the proletariat, bourgeois right is a defect left over by the old society. As the three main differences still exist in socialist society, bourgeois right which reflects these differences cannot be abolished forthwith. However, we must soberly recognize that bourgeois right is after all not a communist feature, and that if it continues to be extended, it will certainly lead to a new class differentiation, destruction of the socialist economy, and restoration of capitalism. Thus, so far as bourgeois right is concerned, "these can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." For us to recognize bourgeois right is for the purpose of creating conditions to abolish it; when such conditions are not ripe, we must take effective measures to restrict and then gradually reduce it. It is of course impossible for those who tenaciously cling to the bourgeois world outlook to correctly understand bourgeois right, and they may even try in every way to consolidate and extend bourgeois right, for instance, striving for positions and better treatment by fair means or foul. Lenin pointed out sharply: "Some people look at the victory over the capitalists in the way that the petty proprietors look at it--'they grabbed, let me have a go too.'" If such ideas should continue to develop, we may become new bourgeois elements.

To gradually eliminate the traces left over by the old society, we have carried out socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production in all forms by applying the function of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and launched one revolutionary struggle after another on the political and ideological fronts. Besides, we have also taken a series of measures to restrict bourgeois right--

for instance, reducing wage differences, sending the educated youths to the countryside, requiring cadres to participate in collective production labor and workers, peasants, soldiers, students and commercial workers to take the May 7 road, training barefoot doctors, giving workers, peasants and soldiers an access to college education, setting up theorist contingents of workers, peasants and soldiers, integrating intellectuals with the masses of workers and peasants, etc. All this is of vital significance to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the prevention of capitalist restoration. It may be said that in the entire historical period of socialist society, all our revolutionary work and our Party's line, principles and policies are geared to using socialism to defeat capitalism and to replacing the remnants of the decadent and moribund capitalism with the new emerging things having the buds of communist ideology. To keep to the proletarian world outlook is the only way for us to gain a deep understanding of the correct and revolutionary nature of the Party's line, principles and policies, so that we may consciously fight for their fulfillment. Only thus can we really understand the great significance of our daily revolutionary work and display a vigorous revolutionary spirit. Those who cling to the bourgeois world outlook hanker after the old things of capitalism and dislike the socialist new things, and that is why they find it hard to understand the Party's line, principles and policies. Some simply slide down and become anti-Party, anti-socialist revisionists. This shows that if we do not solve the problem of world outlook, it will be impossible for us to march in step with the Party and the revolutionary people or to persistently continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Looking back over the history of struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in China over the past twenty years and more, we can clearly see the close connection between the struggle between two kinds of world outlook and the class and line struggles. As Chairman Mao has said: "The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, so does the bourgeoisie." Most of the comrades within our Party and the revolutionary ranks follow Chairman Mao's instructions; they are seriously remolding their own subjective world while changing the objective world. They neither halt nor become self-complacent. That is why they have been able to advance as the Party and the revolutionary cause have advanced, and in the storms of class struggle, have firmly carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, striving to train themselves into advanced elements or activists in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. But there are some people who joined the revolutionary ranks with a bourgeois world outlook. During the period of the democratic revolution, proceeding from the interests of the bourgeoisie or small proprietors, they might to some extent be positive in fighting imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, and hence became "fellow travelers". But when it came to the period of socialist revolution, their bourgeois interests and world outlook conflicted sharply with the interests of the proletariat and the principle of socialism. During the "anti-3" and "anti-5" movements, some people were hit by bourgeois sugar-coated bullets; working hand in glove with the old bourgeois elements, they committed crimes of graft and corruption, stealing, speculation and profiteering, thereby undermining

the socialist economy and betraying the interests of the proletariat; they changed completely into new bourgeois elements politically, ideologically, economically and materially. In 1957, the bourgeois Rightists took advantage of the Party's rectification campaign to unleash a frantic attack against the Party and oppose its leadership and the socialist system. In the face of this critical class struggle, some people became the parrots of the bourgeois Rightists, and joined the ranks of the latter by carrying out anti-Party, anti-socialist activities. The same thing happened in subsequent class and line struggles. Didn't this result from their stubbornly sticking to the bourgeois world outlook? Apart from this, there were also some comrades who could not stand firm in class and line struggles; they wavered to the left and then to the right and even boarded the bandits' boat. This deserves to be taken as a lesson. Why has all this happened? The reason has to be sought from world outlook, too. If we adopt the bourgeois world outlook and discard the proletarian world outlook, we will naturally fall for the revisionist stuff and will not be able to distinguish right from wrong. We may waver in our thought and action and may even lose our stand. "Historical experience merits attention." Facts, both positive and negative, tell us: the only way for us to be able to persistently continue the revolution and strive consciously to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat is by working hard to remold our world outlook. If we relax our efforts in reforming our world outlook, we will step by step embark on the road of opposing Marxism and fostering revisionism, opposing socialism and reviving capitalism. Since we are serving the basic interests of the proletariat and the masses of the people who make up the overwhelming majority of the population, and since we are working for the great cause of communism for which countless revolutionary martyrs have laid down their lives, is there any reason for us not to make an effort to remold our world outlook?

Some comrades suffer from an acute degree of blindness on the question of reforming the world outlook. The trouble is that they haven't really adopted the thorough revolutionary Marxist viewpoint embodied in Chairman Mao's instructions: "In building socialism, everybody needs reform," and therefore they lack the initiative to remold their world outlook. Chairman Mao clearly states that "everybody needs reform," and even the working class is no exception. The working class represents the advanced forces of production; it is just and selfless, most far-sighted, and richest in revolutionary thoroughness. There is no doubt about this. But we must also recognize the fact that members within the workers' ranks are not all the same, and there is an objective difference between those who have a high level of class consciousness and those who have a low level. As the ranks of the workers are constantly replenished by peasants, students and other strata, they are bound to be infiltrated by all sorts of non-proletarian ideas and styles of work. What is more,the "workers were never separated by a Chinese Wall from the old society. And they have preserved a good deal of the traditional mentality of capitalist society." This shows that the workers' ranks cannot have pure proletarian ideology, and if they do not reform their world outlook, a section of them may still suffer from bourgeois corruption and degenerate. Therefore, Chairman Mao teaches us: "The working class should also continuously raise its political consciousness in struggle." Only thus can it give full play to its role as the leading class and exercise an all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including the various spheres of culture.

There is a more urgent and acute need for Communists and revolutionary cadres, especially leading cadres at all levels, to remold their own world outlook. As our Party is the ruling party, our Party members and cadres are the ones who must take the lead in building socialism. Therefore, how they remold their world outlook is not a personal question, but one bearing on whether the Party's line, principles and policies can be properly implemented in their areas and departments and whether the task of consolidating the proletarian dictatorship can be fulfilled at the grassroots level. Only when we set up the proletarian world outlook and serve the people wholeheartedly can we see clearly the direction in socialist revolution and construction, stand firm, be full of vigor, work harder and make due contributions to the consolidations of the dictatorship of the proletariat. If we persist in the bourgeois world outlook, we will be hit by bourgeois sugar-coated bullets, turn the power given us by the people into a special privilege,vie for fame and profit for ourselves or for a small group, turn public interest into private interest, and turn socialist ownership into capitalist ownership. In this way, we may transform ourselves from servants of the people into new bourgeois elements. Every communist and cadre must strive to prevent such an occurrence, free himself from the yoke of the idea of bourgeois right and bourgeois world outlook, integrate himself with the people, and work for their well-being heart and soul.

In summing up many years of experience, in order to reform our world outlook more effectively, we see that the most important requirement is to read and study seriously and have a good grasp of Marxism. Lenin pointed out: Marxism "is perfectly complete and strict and it offers people a complete world outlook that will never compromise with any superstition, any reactionary force or any defense of bourgeois oppression." The stand, viewpoint and method expounded by Marxism can help us correctly answer all major problems of the contemporary world and guide us in waging a victorious struggle. The purpose of remolding our world outlook is precisely to gradually master this complete world outlook of Marxism in struggle practice. If we do not study the works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao seriously, the bourgeois world outlook will not go away from our minds, nor can we arm ourselves with the proletarian world outlook. If we depart from Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought while reforming our world outlook, we will fall into the pit of idealism and empiricism. At present, we are faced with a new task of study, that is, seriously studying the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and deeply comprehending the vital significance of Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory. The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism. We must thoroughly understand this theory before we can adjust our ideological-political line correctly and,grasping the key link to let everything fall into place, correctly resolve the question of how to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and persist in it. Actually, many comrades of ours have studied the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat before, but they have not clarified it and have only half understood it. Today Chairman Mao has made a deep exposition on the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, pointing

out the utter importance of studying this theory at prevent. We must pay serious attention to it. In our study, we must read and think seriously in close relation to the reality of the Chinese revolution and to our own thinking, and use Marxism to solve problems encountered in the course of revolutionary struggle, so that we may produce good results and acquire more strength in work, in building socialism, and in persisting in the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We are happy to note that many comrades have made remarkable progress in different degrees in remolding their world outlook through the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. But "a thorough change in world outlook requires a very long period of time." The tasks before us are still very arduous. We must never become self-complacent and stop marching forward. We must untiringly and more consciously remold our world outlook in order to meet the needs of the Party and the revolution.

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The Anti-Corrosion Struggle of 16 Young Attendants

- Investigation report on Chungnan Central Cooperative Messhall, Shanghai Municipality

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 3, March 1, 1975)

Chungnan Central Cooperative Messhall of the No. 1 Food and Beverage Company of Huangpu District, Shanghai Municipality, is a unit of collective ownership. It has six mess halls, employing 345 people, including 215 who were formerly food stallkeepers or small owners. Under the Party's leadership and education, most of them have raised their political-ideological consciousness to varying degrees since the liberation. However, some of them are still seriously influenced by the remnants of the spontaneous capitalist forces of the petty bourgeoisie. In 1970, 16 young people were assigned to this unit. Over the past 4 years and more, under the Party branch's leadership, these young people have adhered to the socialist orientation and resolutely resisted and struggled against the spontaneous capitalist tendencies of small producers.

To strengthen their immunity against bourgeois ideas after they came to the Messhall, the Party branch of the unit organized these young people to set up a youth Marxism-Leninism study group and to hold two study sessions a week. In the past several years, they have studied "The State and Revolution," "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and other works. Closely linking study with the realities in the unit, they have drawn a clear demarcation between right and wrong and resisted unhealthy tendencies. The central branch of the Messhall is located on the busy Yenan Road, opposite a theater and a barbershop. Some people told the newly arrived youths: "The attendants in the barbershop get free haircuts. The workers and staff members of the theater see free movies. It is only natural that we should also get something free here." Some of the attendants who were formerly food stallkeepers or small owners also often tried to woo the youths by offering them more food, but such offers were rejected by the latter. A young woman attendant of the Messhall once wanted to buy 2 taels of noodles, but was given 3 taels by someone who was a family member of a small owner After she finished eating the noodles, she went to the counter and paid for that extra tael of noodle. She also asked the small owner's family member directly: "What is your purpose in doing this?" Another youth once bought a bowl of stuffed dumplings in the Messhall. When he opened the pot, there was no less than two bowls of stuffed dumplings in it. He immediately reported this to his superior, and together with him, questioned the person who prepared the stuffed dumplings: "Why did you give me two bowls when I only bought one?" Embarrassed, he had to admit that it was an attempt to corrupt the youth. On another occasion, a young woman bought a bowl of bean curd in the mess hall and accidentally tipped the bowl over. An old attendant immediately said to her: "Never mind. Take another bowl." Saying this, he refilled the bowl. The young woman thought: The bean curd costing 3 fen is a small thing, but to be contaminated by the bad idea of eating more for free is a serious matter. She promptly

went to the counter to buy another coupon. A small owner specialized in making pancakes and selling bean curd. He used to make special pancakes with more ingredients for himself or for his family members when they came to buy them. Afraid of being criticized, he also tried hard to give "a little more" to others. As Lenin said: "These small owners used their daily, trivial, invisible and intangible demoralizing activity to achieve the very results needed by the bourgeoisie to make a comeback." When the young people took their meals daily in the mess hall, some small owners would give them noodles with better ingredients and thicker bean curd, etc. The 16 youths resolutely resisted all this. They decided not to eat any more snacks in their own mess hall. Instead, they brought their own food daily, which they ate by adding some boiled water to it, and for 4 years and more they have persisted in doing this. For doing this to keep themselves from being corrupted, they had been subject to all kinds of ridicule and attack. Some described these young people as "damn fools." Others said that they wanted to "climb up and become officials." Still others jeered at them, saying: "How frugal! You will amass a fortune." But these young people paid no heed to such slander and said: "To eat more for free is a vestige of private ownership. We must completely break with it. Otherwise, how can we realize the communist ideal?"

These youths have also been mindful of fighting against the capitalist line for business management. Once, the Chungnan Messhall had 6 catties of spoiled minced meat. The responsible person of the Messhall, being profit-minded, told a young man to fry the meat and then sell it. But the youth thought: A socialist enterprise should serve the people and should not seek only profit. If we sell the spoiled food, we will do harm to the people's health, and this is absolutely impermissible. So, he pointed out to the responsible person that he would not do anything to cheat the customers. Another youth then reported this to the Party branch and wrote a short commentary criticizing this capitalist style of business management. On another occasion, since there were too many unsold barbels in the Messhall, the responsible person of the mess hall changed the posted label from "barbel" to "bighead carp." After discovering this, the youths immediately rebuked the responsibled person, pointing out that that was a way of doing business in the old society. Meanwhile, they put up a big-character poster in the hall: "How can babels become bighead carp?" Evil practices such as this were stopped.

Recently, another group of young people was assigned to Chungnan Central Cooperative Messhall. The good thinking and good styles of work displayed by the 16 youths who came here before them also produced a positive effect on them. One morning, one of the newly-recruited young people complained of a sore throat and wanted to have a glass of salt water. Someone told him: "There is plenty of salt here. Go head and take what you want." Hearing this, a young man who came to the messhall in 1970 patiently explained to this youth: "There is plenty of salt here, but it is collective property. Use it now, and buy it back when the salt shop across the street opens for business." When the salt shop opened for business at 8 a.m., the young man bought a small packet of salt and gave it to the messhall. The young people have

conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's teachings. Referring to the revolutionary spirit of the fighters who abided by discipline and refused to take one single apple offered by the masses during the Liaohsi campaign, Chairman Mao said: "On this question, the fighters thought: Not to eat them is noble, and eating them is mean because the apples belong to the people." The youths said happily that though there was plenty of salt in the mess hall, not to take it was noble and taking it was mean because it belonged to the people.

Why are these 16 youths able to resist corrosion and persist in struggle even when they have long been surrounded by small producers? Recently, the Party branch of this unit discussed this question with everyone, and they held that the most fundamental thing was to conscientiously study the Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings and to strengthen ideological education. When these youths joined the messhall, it happened that the "one-blow and three-oppositions" movement was in progress, and so tempered and educated them in class struggle. Some youths said: "I joined the 'one-blow, three-oppositions' movement and I discovered that some people who committed mistakes began to make them by eating a half bowl more of dumplings. Therefore, in resisting corrosion by bourgeois ideas, we should begin with small matters." Some said: "I received a profound education by taking part in this struggle. It enabled me to see that if we do not resist and struggle against corrosion by bourgeois ideas, we face the danger of being contaminated."

Now, in the course of the struggle against corrosion by bourgeois ideas, two of the 16th youths have joined the Party, six have joined the League, and nine have been assigned to leading positions. Closely united with the middle-aged and old workers of the messhall, these youths are advancing continuously on the road of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. A generation of new people is maturing gradually in the fierce struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and our socialist society is advancing in this struggle.

Investigation Team of No. 1 Food and
Beaverage Company, Huangpu District,
Shanghai Municipality

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Completely Break with the Bourgeois Style of life

by

Party Committee of Truck Transport
Depot No. 6, Tientsin Municipality

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 3, March 1, 1975)

In the course of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, taking into account the actual situation of our transportation industry, we have carried out a deep-going education on the Party's basic line and mobilized the masses to take the initiative to launch an attack on old traditional concepts and the bourgeois style of life. Profound changes have taken place in the spiritual outlook of the broad masses of the staff and workers, and further development has been registered in the exceedingly favorable situation of revolution and production. On the basis of overfulfilling the state plans for 18 years in a row since the building of the depot, we again overfulfilled last year's transportation assignment, achieving seven technical and economic targets in an all-round and balanced manner. Nearly 380,000 kiloliters of gasoline and diesel oil were saved, equivalent to the total amount of oil saved in four years before the great cultural revolution. Further improvements have been made in the quality of transportation service, and unity and cooperation within the depot and between it and the administrative offices have been further strengthened.

Recently, Chairman Mao issued an important instruction on the question of theory, which further raised our political consciousness and fighting morale. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Lenin said, 'Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.' This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. Both within the ranks of the proletarian and among the personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life." This is true, judging by the actual conditions of our depot. The bourgeois style of life does occur among the workers and cadres and old traditional concepts also shackle people's minds. Our depot is a transportation unit and has extensive ties with society. Every day, our trucks shuttle back and forth between railway stations and wharves, factories and mines, and villages and towns. Moreover, transportation work is highly mobile and scattered in nature; there are many points spread over a wide area. Under such circumstances, some of our workers are easily corrupted by the bourgeois style of life and influenced by traditional ideas. For instance, a small number of workers violated the rules of discipline for personal interests. Taking advantage of their work, they asked the consignor units to give them special treatment in the supply of articles of daily use, and some even took away the things belonging to the consignor units. As the "vanguard" of the national economy, our depot should wholeheartedly serve proletarian politics and industrial and farm production. However, as a small number of workers are affected by the bourgeois style of life, the quality of transportation service is sometimes jeopardized. Some consignor units, in order to encourage us to move their goods faster and load and discharge them better,

sometimes also give in to certain illegitimate demands of a small number of workers in our depot, thereby aiding the development of the bourgeois style of life. All this runs counter to socialism.

With the deep-going development of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and with the rising consciousness of the masses, some comrades sharply brought up these questions, thinking they must be solved as they affected the direction of the enterprise. But there were also some comrades who regarded these matters as mere trifles of daily life and there was no need to make a mountain out of a mole hill. In order to raise our consciousness and unify our thinking, we made a serious study of the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Party's basic line in the historical stage of socialism, combining this with the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. We analyzed the reason why some of our workers still followed the bourgeois style of life and traditional concepts and the danger these posed to the workers, our enterprise and to society.

We realize: though the system of private ownership of the means of production has been abolished, the concept of private ownership, which rests on the private ownership system, still shackles the minds of some people; bourgeois ideology and the spontaneous capitalist tendencies of small producers still corrupt people's souls; the poisonous influence of "material incentives" and "profit first" stemming from the revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao has not yet been eradicated; and a small handful of class enemies who are unwilling to reconcile themselves to their extinction are trying by hook or by crook to attack the proletariat with "sugar-coated bullets." This is the ideological and class source of the bourgeois style of life existing among a section of the workers. This bourgeois style of life is corrupting the ranks of the workers. Whoever follows it will think of himself only and forget the whole group, will violate the rules of discipline, benefit himself at the expense of the public interest, and turn the means of production under socialist ownership by the whole people into a tool for reaping personal gains; with the passage of time he will take the capitalist evil road and may even become a new bourgeois element. The bourgeois style of life is also interferring with our enterprise keeping to the socialist direction. The socialist direction is not something in the abstract; it is shown in the actual process of carrying out the Party's line and policies, in one's thought and deed in serving revolution and construction wholeheartedly, in the concrete action of the workers in observing revolutionary discipline, fostering the revolutionary spirit and upholding the socialist relations of production. If we allow the bourgeois style of life to spread unchecked and fail to fight against it, the Party's line and policies will be interferred with, the quality of our transportation service will decline, the production and construction work of our clients will be affected, the system of socialist ownership by the whole people will degenerate, and the new type of relations of mutual assistance, unity and cooperation between socialist enterprises and between workers and peasants will be undermined. We must also see that the class enemies and capitalist forces are

constantly prying for opportunities to corrupt and win over some of our workers by making use of their weaknesses in thinking and style of work and with money and material as bait, so that they may use our transportation tools to engage in speculation and profiteering, graft and corruption, steeling and other criminal activities. All this shows that the existence of the bourgeois style of life among a small group of workers is by no means a "small matter" of no consequences, but an important matter related to which road our enterprise should take and what kind of contingent is to be brought up. It is also a major matter bearing on whether the proletarian or the bourgeoisie will win and whether the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie can be successfully exercised at the grassroots level.

Presenting facts on the table and showing the danger from the class struggle point of view and through class analysis quickly helped the cadres and the masses raise their consciousness. Everyone came to feel deeply that though the problem occurred among only a few people, its influence was not limited to them only. Though the loss was directly suffered by our enterprise or our clients, the harm spread to the rest of society. It was a problem that had to be dealt with,and dealt with care and thoroughness. Only thus could we dig away the soil breeding capitalism and revisionism, gradually "create the conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise."

But can this problem be resolved? Some comrades regard it as an "old and difficult" problem and shudder at the mere thought of it. Old traditional concepts and the bourgeois style of life are infectious diseases left over by the old society and are deeply rooted. And they are taken as important weapons by the class enemies to attack the proletariat, and are extended and developed by them in every way. This is why clearing this ideological rubbish is a most arduous and prolonged task. But, under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, coupled with a Marxist-Leninist line, and as long as we take the initiative to solve problems instead of shirking them, there is no difficulty which cannot be resolved. Didn't we destroy the old system of exploitation that had existed for thousands of years? If we could break the old system, then we can surely overcome and clear the old traditional concepts resting on the old system. In the case of our transportation enterprise, the main reason why the problem of the bourgeois style of life has remained unsolved for a long time is that we had been previously influenced by the revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, who spread and extended these things in various ways, while our political consciousness was not high enough to enable us to grasp this problem on the plane of class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. We lacked fighting strength and the initiative to lead the attack. So long as we follow Chairman Mao's guidance and carry on the struggle perseveringly, victory will surely belong to the proletariat. When we think of this, we gain more confidence.

On the basis of a higher political consciousness, unified thinking and stronger confidence, and in order to resolve more properly the problem of the bourgeois style of life, we seriously studied Chairman Mao's "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People" and summed up the lessons we had learned from our past experiences on methods of work. To get rid of the bourgeois style of life, besides firmly rebuffing the attack of the class enemy and the capitalist activities of some degenerates,

most problems are problems among the people and should not be treated by simple methods. In the past we used to hold a general meeting to "point out" the problems of the bourgeois style of life, and forget the whole matter after the meeting was dismissed. Such a "noisy" method could only raise the alarm but could not really help raise people's consciousness. We also tried the "containment" method and suspended those operations which gave rise easily to the bourgeois style of life. But such a "giving up food for fear of choking" method could only "contain" certain things for a while, but could not contain thinking for long. Experiences prove that no problems can be basically solved by such simple methods as "pointing out" or "containment" without careful political-ideological work, without setting ourselves to work at changing the world outlook, and without relying on the masses to rise up consciously to boycott the evil winds. So, we set aside some time and organized the cadres to study Chairman Mao's teachings on the mass line and to criticize such reactionary, idealistic ideas of history as "the highest are wise and the lowest are stupid" and "heroes create history" peddled by Lin Piao and Confucius. We came to realize that the struggle to break with traditional ideas is a people's war, and only by believing in, relying on and fully mobilizing the masses can we win the victory.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is a powerful weapon for criticizing revisionism and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and for breaking down the old traditional concepts. To let the masses rise up themselves to break the spiritual chains, we must organize them to study the works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao seriously, and combine theory with practice in study and criticism. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the broad masses of workers, bearing in mind the practical situation of class struggle in the ideological sphere, have seriously studied Chairman Mao's teaching "The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled." They realized that the struggle to break down traditional concepts and put an end to the bourgeois style of life is a fierce attack on bourgeois ideology. So, the broad masses of workers consciously criticized the reactionary fallacy, peddled by Lin Piao and Confucius, that "the superior man is interested in righteousness, the mean man only in gain." They criticized the reactionary sayings embodied in the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius which had spread far and wide in the transportation industry. In the past, some comrades made light of some of the bourgeois ways of living that appeared in the enterprise, saying, "Can anyone who eats a fried cake not drop a few sesame seeds from the cake?" "Can anyone who stands on the edge of a river avoid having his shoes get wet?" We now realize that all these ideas stem from Lin Piao's poisonous doctrine that "trifle matters are harmless," are a trap set by the class enemy, and are no more than the force of old habits shackling our minds. By linking practical conditions with study and criticism in this manner, we help the broad masses of workers to greatly raise their consciousness in sweeping away traditional ideas. The comrades say: "We are driving socialist trucks today, and we must follow Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and take the socialist road."

Traditional concepts will not go away lightly. Where the broom of the proletariat does not reach, such rubbish will not vanish. In order to gradually do away with these old things, we must, while firmly grasping the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, step up regular political-ideological work and insist on studying and criticizing together with the comrades who have committed the mistake of following the bourgeois style of life so as to enable them to consciously correct their mistakes on the basis of raised political consciousness, clarify their thinking and unite with other comrades in common struggle. Experience proves that in resolving problems of an ideological nature within the ranks of the people, we can only use the method of putting facts on the table and reasoning things out, the democratic method, the method of education and persuasion, and not the method of coercion. As we have paid attention to awakening the masses to fight against traditional concepts, we have gradually expanded the position of the proletarian world outlook in people's minds, and this not only has not thwarted the enthusiasm of the masses but has greatly aroused and preserved their socialist enthusiasm.

While eradicating traditional concepts and boycotting the bourgeois style of life, we must actively foster and encourage new ideas and new customs of socialism, promote and popularize them constantly. Last November, a road construction project required us to assign two trucks to carry tar every day. As this was an urgent task, our drivers had to make one more trip a day. Because of this, the other party offered to increase the fee for the drivers. At that time, some drivers firmly rejected the offer and tried to explain the reason. But the other party insisted on doing so. When they got back, the drivers handed in the extra money to their team and suggested that the money be returned. The Party branch of the fleet agreed that the drivers should not accept extra pay by their clients because we had our own regulations for overtime work. The Party committee of the depot supported the decision of the Party branch and thought that the suggestion to return the money stood for the determination of the cadres and the rank and file to break away from traditional concepts and gave expression to new ideas and new customs of socialism, and proletarian justice should be promoted by all means. Grasping this case, we mobilized the masses to hold discussion and gained their support. With the ever-rising consciousness of the masses in class and line struggles, more and more good people and good deeds in the fight against the bourgeois style of life have appeared on the scene. There are quite a numeber of outstanding instances in which clients are enthusiastically served and their goods properly cared for. As the workers remark: "Our socialist transportation enterprise should do everything possible to satisfy the consignor departments and, what is more important still, to conform to the interests of the country and to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line."

To eradicate the bourgeois style of life and traditional ideas, not only must we inspire and lead the masses to make revolution consciously, we must also encourage leadership at all levels to lead in the attack. In the past, some of our leading cadres also followed the bourgeois style of life and found it difficult to solve the problems of the masses. To a certain extent, unhealthy practices were encouraged and the relations and revolutionary unity between the cadres and masses were undermined. Through the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, we recognized that whether

the leaders of an enterprise can firmly break with traditional concepts is an important indication of whether their Party spirit is pure or not and whether or not they have a high level of consciousness in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; it is also an important condition bearing on whether they can do the mass work well. From that time on, we have made more exacting demands on ourselves and become more resolute in adhering to Marxist principle. Thus the masses have shown greater trust in us, and our work has been done with better results.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "All decadent ideas and other useless parts of the superstructure are crumbling and falling apart day by day. But to sweep away this rubbish still needs time." We understand that breaking away from traditional concepts is a militant task that will take a long time to accomplish. The struggle between corruption and anti-corruption is not over yet. The struggle within the ideological sphere must go on. And we have not done enough. We are determined to carry out Chairman Mao's recent important instruction on the question of theory, seriously study the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, deepen our understanding of the dictatorship of the proletariat, continue to develop the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in depth, and closely combine the actual class and line struggles in our depot with the effectively carrying out of struggle-criticize-transformation in our enterprise. We must give full scope to the leading role of the vanguard of the proletariat, and carry out the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat right through to the grassroots level.

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Implement the Principle of Taking Agriculture as the Foundation and Industry as the Leading Factory

by

Hua Yün (华 云)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 3, March 1, 1975)

Taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor is a general principle set by Chairman Mao for developing China's national economy. The practice of socialist construction over many years has proved that correctly handling the relations between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry according to this principle is a fundamental question in expanding socialist reproduction as well as a question concerning the road of China's industrialization, a question which is of the utmost significance to consolidating and developing the socialist economic base, consolidating the worker-peasant alliance and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, our great leader Chairman Mao has on numerous occasions incisively dealt with the relationship between industry and agriculture in the various historical periods of the revolution. In his report "On the Coalition Government" in 1945, Chairman Mao, analyzing the relation of the reform of the land system and the release of the agricultural productive forces to the development of industry, pointed out: "It is the peasants who are the source of China's industrial workers. In future, additional tens of millions of peasants will go to the cities and enter factories..... It is the peasants who constitute the main market for China's industry. Only they can supply foodstuffs and raw materials in great abundance and absorb manufactured goods in great quantities." After China's entry into the period of socialist revolution, Chairman Mao made a timely exposition on the relations between socialist transformation of agriculture and national socialist industrialization and criticized Liu Shao-ch'i's Right opportunist line which severed socialist industrialization from agricultural cooperativization. In 1956, when socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was nearing basic completion, Chairman Mao gave a talk on "Ten Major Relations," in which he touched on the relations between industry and agriculture and between heavy and light industries and proposed to develop heavy industry by developing more light industry and agriculture. Then, in his report "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," taking the correct handling of the relations between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry as a question of path for China's industrialization, he pointed out: "In discussing our path to industrialization, I am here concerned principally with the relationship between the growth of heavy industry, light industry and agriculture. It must be affirmed that heavy industry is the core of China's economic construction. At the same time, full attention must be paid to the development of agriculture and light industry." Subsequently, he put forth a series of brilliant ideas such as developing industry and

agriculture simultaneously and planning the national economy in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, and generalized "taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor" as the general principle for the development of the national economy. These ideas of Chairman Mao's enriched and developed the basic Marxist principles of political economy, revealed the inner connection between industry and agriculture under socialist conditions, and theoretically armed the vast numbers of cadres and the masses, thereby pointing out the orientation of advance in bringing all positive factors into play and developing the national economy with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

Explaining the laws of development of the capitalist economy, Marx put the emphasis on an analysis of the relations between industry and agriculture in and prior to capitalist society. He said: "Farm labor productivity in excess of the personal needs of the laborer is the basis for every society." This means that agriculture, apart from satisfying the personal consumption of the farm laborer, must provide society with a part of surplus farm produce before industry and other undertakings can be developed. The greater the quantities it supplies, the larger the scale of development of industry and other undertakings. This principle applies to every society. Piror to capitalist society, there was only handicraft industry and no large-scale industry; at that time, handicraft industry and agriculture were linked together through primitive family ties. The appearance of the capitalist mode of production severed the links between handicraft industry and agriculture and led to the development of large-scale capitalist industry and agriculture. This was a step forward. However, in developing the large-scale industry, the bourgeoisie depended on plundering the peasants and invading and plundering the broad masses of the people in colonial, semi-colonial countries for food grain, raw materials and a market for manufactured goods. Consequently, this caused agriculture to lag behind industry and created a sharp antagonism between town and country and between industry and agriculture. This antagonism aggravated the anarchy of capitalist production. Marx not only analyzed this antagonistic contradiction between industry and agriculture in capitalist society, but also foresaw the prospect of transformation of the two opposites, pointing out that such socialized large-scale production "creates the material preconditions for a new and higher merger--the union between agriculture and industry." Once the victory of the proletarian revolution is achieved and the socialist system of ownership of the means of production is established, people will be able to consciously order the relationship between industry and agriculture according to the objective laws, to link up industry and agriculture on a new basis.

After summing up the experience of China's socialist revolution and construction and drawing on both the positive and negative experiences of other countries, Chairman Mao set forth the general principle of developing the national economy by taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor, thus solving in theory and in practice the question of relationship between industry and agriculture and among agriculture, light industry and heavy industry under socialist conditions.

There are two methods for developing the national economy. One is to set heavy industry against light industry and agriculture, to see only the effect of heavy industry on agriculture and light industry and not the effect of agriculture and light industry on heavy industry. One-sidedly stressing heavy industry without considering the state of agriculture will make it impossible to consolidate the industrial base and develop heavy industry with success. In the long run, such a method will cause heavy industry to develop slowly and poorly. The other method is to make heavy industry develop in a way compatible with agriculture, to develop heavy industry by developing more agriculture and light industry. In this way, the base of heavy industry will be strong and it will develop fast and well. Chairman Mao has said: "The entire national economy will benefit if we can achieve an even greater growth in our agriculture and thus induce a correspondingly greater development of light industry. As agriculture and light industry develop, heavy industry, assured of its market and funds, will grow faster. Hence what may seem to be a slower pace of industrialization will actually not be so slow, and indeed may even be faster."

Undoubtedly, in order to aid agriculture and the development of the national economy as a whole so as to build China into a powerful modern socialist industrial country at an early date, we must make vigorous efforts to speed up the production of iron and steel, coal and other "means of production for the production of capital goods" in order to accelerate the rate of the development of heavy industry. However, according to the principle of reproduction, heavy industry principally produces the means of production, and agriculture and light industry largely produce consumer goods. These two sectors depend on each other for existence, and neither can be developed in isolation. Although there are many departments inside heavy industry and they can exchange their products and aid one another, yet taking social production as a whole, "the production of the means of production is not for its own sake but is dictated by the growing demands for the means of production by industrial departments manufacturing consumer goods." No production can be separated from consumption. In the final analysis, the development of heavy industry is dependent on the development of agriculture and light industry. This truth had not been appreciated by a lot of people in the past. Now that we have more than 20 years of experience in socialist construction and particularly the experience of grasping revolution and promoting production since the great proletarian cultural revolution, more and more people have come to understand this truth.

The reason why we must place agriculture first in planning the national economy is that agriculture is the foundation of the national economy. Today the bulk of the raw materials, labor power and funds required for expanding light industrial production still comes from agriculture. A relatively large part of funds, labor power and raw materials required for expanding heavy industry also comes from agriculture. Both heavy industry and light industry must take agriculture as the market. In 1957 Chairman Mao pointed out: "It is not yet so clearly understood that agriculture provides heavy industry with an important market. This fact, however, will be more readily appreciated as gradual process in the technical improvement and modernization of agriculture calls for more and more machinery, fertilizer, water conservancy and electric power

projects and transport facilities for the farms, as well as feul and building materials for the rural consumers." The Chinese countryside is the largest market and provides uniquely favorable conditions for the development of industry. When agriculture is developed, there will be a tremendous scope for the development of industry. Chairman Mao said: "As China is a large agricultural country, with over 80 percent of her population in the rural areas, industry must develop together with agriculture, for only thus can industry secure raw materials and a market, and only thus is it possible to accumulate fairly large funds for building a powerful heavy industry." This is a truth that has been proved time and again by practice. Looking back over the development of China's national economy over the past two decades and more, we can see clearly that in a year agriculture is developed fast, industry and the national economy as a whole will develop well in the same year or in the following year; in a year there is a crop failure, the development of industry and the national economy as a whole will be adversely affected in the same year or in the following year. This is true for the whole nation as well as for a particular region.

We should work out good plans for agriculture before making good plans for light industry. There is a close relationship between light industry, agriculture and heavy industry. The development of light industry will promote the output of industrial crops and the development of a diversified economy in the rural areas, boost the income of commune members, strengthen the collective economy of the people's commune, and better satisfy and needs of the people's daily life and aid agricultural modernization. It will then be possible to accumulate funds for heavy industry and to provide large amounts of daily necessities and a part of the means of production so as to enable agriculture and heavy industry to develop still faster. Making proper arrangements first for agriculture and light industry and then for heavy industry will provide heavy industry with a foundation.

Planning the national economy in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry does not mean that the largest proportion of funds and materials should go to agriculture and light industry; it means that we should first of all assure the needs of agriculture and light industry and then arrange for heavy industry on the basis of the state of agriculture and light industry. The result of these arrangements will be that the proportion of funds and materials allocated to heavy industry will still be larger than that for agriculture and light industry. This is because heavy industry is a sector producing the means of production to equip agriculture and light industry. Under the conditions of expanded reproduction, giving priority to the growth of the sector producing the means of production is an objective law. Taking industry as the leading factor means taking largely heavy industry as the leading factor. Heavy industry is a tremendous material force for arming agriculture, expanding socialist collective economic strength, building a new socialist countryside, basically transforming the small-peasant economy and completely changing the backward rural features. In developing agricultural production, we must first rely on the masses, keep to the socialist orientation and road and, at the same time, carry out technical

reform of agriculture. The fundamental way out for agriculture lies in mechanization. It is impossible to bring about agricultural modernization without an endless supply of modern farm equipment, chemical fertilizer and other products from industry. To complete the flying leap from basically relying on manual labor to basically relying on mechanical labor in farm production, we must develop industry as the leading factor.

Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, there has been remarkable progress in industrial and agricultural production in the three provinces of Hopei, Shantung and Honan, and the reason is that these provinces have first of all directed their efforts toward grasping agriculture and industries aiding agriculture. With the improvement of agriculture and industries supporting agriculture, industry as a whole has progressed steadily. Previously, they "have not an inch of iron" or very little of it. Now, their iron and steel industry, machine-building industry and coal industry have registered rapid development. In almost every hsien in these provinces, there are chemical fertilizer plants, farm machinery-building plants and cement plants; the output of diesel engines, tractors and heavy-duty trucks has grown several times or even scores of times compared with that before the great cultural revolution. This is a very good case in point. Tsunhua hsien of Hopei province also serves as an example. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, industrial and agricultural development has been fairly rapid. The reason is that it has placed agriculture first and made energetic efforts to develop industries at the hsien, commune and brigade levels on the basis of strengthening agriculture. Its policy is this: "take grain as the key link and develop a diversified economy; support the machine-building industry with income from subsidiary production and promote agriculture with the machine-building industry; promote heavy industry with light industry and support agriculture with heavy industry." Throughout the hsien, as a result, both industry and agriculture have developed briskly.

The proportions between agriculture and industry are the basic proportions of the national economy. There are many departments inside agriculture and industry, and them too require to be developed proportionately, and the proportions between them may also affect the proportions between industry and agriculture. For example, how to arrange for the proportions between grain crops and industrial crops in agriculture and how to arrange for the proportions between the raw material industry and the processing industry not only directly affect the development of the agricultural and industrial sectors themselves but also affect the proportions between industry and agriculture and the development of the national economy as a whole.

Practicing the general principle of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor is an important aspect of implementing the Party's basic line. Whether the relations between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry are dealt with properly not only determines to a very great extent the rate of development of the national economy as a whole but also affects the relationship between the two major laboring classes, the workers and peasants, and the relations between town and country as well as affecting the worker-peasant alliance and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

China is a socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The alliance between the workers and peasants is the foundation of this dictatorship. Only by ceaselessly consolidating the worker-peasant alliance can we strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and develop and consolidate the socialist economic base. Chairman Mao points out: "In drawing up plans, handling affairs or thinking over problems, we must proceed from the fact that China has a population of 600 million people, and we must never forget this fact." The vast majority of these 600 million (at present nearly 800 million) are peasants. By placing agriculture first and handling properly the relations between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, we shall be able to mobilize to the maximum extent peasants to join in socialist revolution and construction, mobilize to the maximum extent the market forces, manpower and material resources to accelerate the development of heavy industry and light industry, and mobilize all available funds to equip agriculture with advanced techniques. Chairman Mao stated long ago: "Eighty percent of China's population are peasants, and even a primary school student knows this. Therefore, the peasant question is the basic question of the Chinese revolution, and the strength of the peasants is the principal strength of the Chinese revolution." Without bringing the socialist activism of the hundred of millions of peasants into full play, we will accomplish nothing in industrial and agricultural construction.

In socialist society, there are still differences between industry and agriculture and between town and country. As long as these differences remain, bourgeois right cannot be abolished and there will be soil breeding bourgeois elements. For the peasants in particular, they still cannot now completely free themselves from the habitual forces of small producers. Lenin said: "Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale." At the present stage, we still cannot completely abolish bourgeois right and the three major differences, but these should and must be restricted. In order to reduce the differences between workers and peasants and between town and country, we must pay serious attention to the countryside, to the peasants and to agricultural development. Hence, implementation of the principle of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor is not only an economic question but, first and foremost, a political question, a question of line. Only when we understand this on the plane of the Party's basic line can we implement this principle with still better results.

Since the founding of new China and, in particular, since the great proletarian cultural revolution, there has been rapid development in our agriculture. However, on the whole, the level of our agricultural production is still not high, and it still cannot satisfy the needs of industrial development. We must continue to seriously implement the principle of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor and make arrangements for the national economy in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, giving first place to agricultural development. To this end, we must first implement

the Party's basic line, grasp the revolution in the realm of the superstructure, broaden, deepen and persevere in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, criticize the revisionist line and the spontaneous capitalist trends,keep to the socialist road, and bring the socialist activism of the broad masses of peasants into full play. At the same time, we must realize agricultural mechanization as quickly as possible. These are important steps for consolidating the worker-peasant alliance under new historical conditions. All trades and occupations should aid agriculture, and industry must serve agricultural mechanization. When industry supports agriculture, agriculture will in turn promote industry, and not only industries aiding agriculture such as the farm machine-building, chemical fertilizer and electric power industries but also light industry. This is because without the development of light industry, there will not be enough funds for agricultural mechanization. At present, local industries, and in particular industries at the hsien and commune levels, are playing an increasingly vital role in bringing about agricultural mechanization, because they can aid agricultural mechanization in the above-mentioned two respects. Experiences over the past years have shown: Correctly implementing Chairman Mao's series of principles of walking on two legs, giving full scope to the initiative of the central and local organizations under the leadership of the central authorities, and paying attention to the development of medium and small industries-- these are the ways to speed up industrial development and realize agricultural modernization. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, many regions in our country have, in accordance with the needs of agricultural modernization, set up small farm machine-building plants, small chemical fertilizer plants, and small cement plants in large numbers. These "five small" industries have a great future, for they not only play a very important role in developing local agriculture and industries, but at the same time also contribute to expanding the economic strength of ownership at the commune and brigade levels, further demonstrating the superiority of the people's commune which is big in size and communal in ownership and paving up the way for reducing the differences between workers and peasants and between town and country.

It is through practice that we have gradually understood more and more the principle of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor set forth by Chairman Mao. We should keep on summing up new experience, more consciously implement this great principle, strive to build an independent and relatively complete industrial system and national economic system in the not too long future, and strive to achieve the grand object of further bringing about overall modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense,and science and technology!

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Firmly and Unswervingly Follow the Socialist Road

by

Party Committee of Chiliying People's Commune, Hsinhsiang hsien, Honan

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 3, March 1, 1975)

Our Chiliying Commune is one of the first people's communes set up in the country. In 1958 our great leader Chairman Mao visited it when he issued to the whole nation the great call, "The people's commune is good." For the last 17 years, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the commune Party committee has led the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members in general to wage struggles against the revisionist line, the class enemy and the bourgeois tendencies and old ideology, while firmly and unswervingly taking the socialist road. The collective economy has developed vigorously. A poor area frequently struck by natural calamities and with low yields has been turned into a thriving socialist new village with high yield of grain and cotton and harvest assured even in time of drought and waterlogging. In 1974 the 56,000 mow of land sown to grain crops in the commune registered an average per-mow output of more than 1,100 catties, six times higher than before the establishment of the people's commune. On the 31,000 mow of cotton land, the average per-mow output of ginned cotton exceeded 120 catties, more than double that before the people's commune was set up. Following the development of revolution and production, the commune has gradually made more contributions to the State, increased its collective grain reserves year after year, and raised the living standard of its commune members steadily. Substantial progress has also been achieved in the commune-run industry as well as in cultural, education, health and other undertakings.

The course of the development and growth of Chiliying Commune has been one of continued consolidation of proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and continued triumph of socialism over capitalism. The practice of struggle makes it clear that to fulfill the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat right through to the grassroots level and to persist in the socialist road, we must seriously study the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and, taking the Party's basic line as the key link, tightly grasp the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between socialism and capitalism as the main contradiction. We must rely on the poor and lower-middle peasants and unite over 95 percent of cadres and the masses in deepening and sustaining the socialist revolution in the political, economic and ideological and cultural fields.

In the countryside, the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines is very complex and acute. Every step forward taken by the people's commune invariably meets with the strong resistance of the class enemy. The chieftains of the opportunist line within the Party and a handful of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad

elements and Rightists, to realize their fond dream of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism, always echo each other and rabidly attack the proletariat and socialism. Not long after the establishment of our commune, Liu Shao-ch'i and company went all out to vilify the people's commune as "premature" and "a mess," push san-tzu-i-pao and other revisionist schemes and force us to close down all commune- and brigade-run enterprises, expand the private plot and "loan" the land to the commune members in a vain attempt to strangle the people's commune newly born in China. The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants said, "Chairman Mao says the people's commune is big in size and public in ownership, but they want us to reduce it in size and revert to private ownership. This is going backward. We just won't do that!" Holding back this adverse current, the cadres and masses of the commune firmly continued to advance along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The great proletarian cultural revolution destroyed Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois headquarters, but the struggle did not come to an end. Lin Piao and company continued to push the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and attempted to prevent us from following the socialist road. Waging a tit-for-tat struggle against them, the cadres and the masses smashed their vicious plot. Echoing the revisionist line within the Party, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists in society also came out again and again to resist the dictatorship of the proletariat and engage in activities for capitalist restoration. They often used the method of corrupting and wooing our Party members and cadres to attain their sinister aim. In one brigade, the class enemy adopted such tactics as throwing parties and presenting gifts and granting small favors to woo and corrupt the brigade's principal cadres, and also made use of clannish relationships to sow dissension and create disunity among the masses, with the result that the leading squad was paralyzed, capitalist forces arose, the output of grain and cotton declined, and the collective economy was disrupted. Later, arming the masses with the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Party's basic line, we mobilized them to hit at the class enemy's disruptive activities, holding the capitalist evil winds in check and overhauling the leading squad. As a result, the brigade rapidly changed its outlook and joined the advanced ranks of the commune.

The fact that the class enemy launched an open and rabid attack against socialism and the fact that a small number of our cadres degenerated after they were corrupted by bourgeois ideas and influenced by bourgeois right show that we must step up education on the Party's basic line and on the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie among cadres and the masses, guard against attacks by bourgeois sugar-coated bullets, and wage struggle against the class enemy's attempt to woo and corrupt our cadres. So, we launched with great fanfare mass exposure and criticism drives in the commune, held exhibitions on countering corruption and on class education, conducted education comparing the new society with the old and the dictatorship of the proletariat with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and organized discussions on the advantages of taking the socialist road and the harm of capitalism and revisionism. These activities helped the cadres and the masses to raise their consciousness of class struggle, line struggle and of the need to continue revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin pointed out: "Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale." This is true indeed. Though socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in the countryside has been basically completed and the collective ownership by the working masses has been established, yet features inherent in small production and remnants of the idea of small-peasant economy are still present and spontaneous capitalist tendencies always assert themselves stubbornly and constantly. Therefore, to continuously instill into the peasant masses socialist ideas and to criticize capitalist tendencies is a basic task of political work of the rural Party organization as well as a vital measure for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Over the years, true to Chairman Mao's directive "The serious question is the education of the peasantry," we have continued to organize the cadres and the masses in the commune and brigades to study the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Party's basic line. In light of the reality of the struggle between the two roads, we have publicized the superiority of socialism and criticized the reactionary nature of capitalism, thus making everyone understand the truth that "only socialism can save China," display greater love for socialism and greater hatred for capitalism and consciously draw a clear line of distinction with capitalist tendencies. By carrying out socialist education with the method of comparing typical examples, we have achieved relatively satisfactory results. Liuchuang brigade-- which has firmly kept to the socialist road, ceaselessly criticized capitalist tendencies, grasped revolution and promoted production-- has in recent years achieved a per-mow output of grain exceeding 1,500 catties and that of cotton exceeding 150 catties. It has continued to consolidate and expand the socialist collective economy, with its collective grain stock amounting to 650,000 catties and public accumulation amounting to over 700,000 yuan. It has become an advanced unit in learning from Tachai in agriculture. But look at another brigade which is adjacent to Liuchuang and has similar natural conditions to the latter's. As it forgot the Party's basic line and was keen on capitalist evil practices, it worked sluggishly and its collective economy was undermined. A sharp contrast between the two brigades clearly pointed to two different kinds of results from taking two different roads. We have deeply realized that whether we should resolutely resist, criticize and fight the spontaneous capitalist tendencies which exist objectively in the countryside or pay no heed to them and allow them to spread unchecked is a major question bearing on whether or not the socialist collective economy can be consolidated and capitalist restoration prevented. The rural Party organization must pay full attention to this question, continue to instill into the peasants socialist ideas, and adopt appropriate methods in a resolute struggle against capitalist tendencies.

An important manifestation of capitalist tendencies in the countryside is promotion of capitalist activities by flying the banner "for the collective" and hanging the socialist signboard. Such capitalist tendencies are often linked up with capitalist forces in the cities in attacking socialism, undermining the socialist economic base and the dictatorship of the proletariat. If a resolute struggle is not waged against this, the socialist collective economy may, as Lenin

pointed out, degenerate into "a collective capitalist organization." Some time ago, there likewise existed in our commune the practice of engaging in capitalist activities in the name of collective sideline production. After we led the commune and brigade cadres and the masses to criticize the tendency to undertake subsidiary occupations individually, some people spread such erroneous ideas as "the only way for the collective to get rich is to go in for sideline production in a big way" and "to make money for the collective can't be wrong." In one brigade, a bad man once hoisted the banner "for the collective" and used the brigade-run enterprise to engage in speculations and profiteering. In view of this situation, we organized the cadres to make a serious study of the Party's basic line and policies, draw a line of distinction between legitimate collective subsidiary occupations and capitalist activities, handle correctly the relations between agriculture and subsidiary occupations and between state and collective enterprises, and adjust commune- and brigade-run enterprises and subsidiary occupations and draw them into the socialist orbit to serve mainly agricultural production. Legitimate commune- and brigade-run enterprises and subsidiary occupations which conform to the socialist direction are firmly supported and encouraged by the commune Party committee, and illegitimate ones which are engaged in capitalist activities under the "collective" banner are resolutely criticized and opposed.

All ideas of the corrupt and declining exploiting classes are spiritual props on which the landlord and bourgeois classes depend for their very life, and are also ideological roots of capitalism. After they are overthrown politically and deprived of the means of production, the landlord and bourgeois classes will always do their best to use their influence in the ideological area to rabidly attack the proletariat and undermine the socialist economic base. "Invariably, remnants of old ideas reflecting the old system remain in people's minds for a long time, and they do not easily give way." To consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and persist in taking the socialist road, we must set up the idea of fighting a protracted war, grasp the class struggle in the ideological sphere, and criticize the remnants of all old ideas reflecting the system of exploitation. In the past, our understanding of this was insufficient, nor was our effort adequate to deal with the problem. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we gradually came to understand that a very important reason why in some brigades evil trends and capitalist tendencies appeared, morale was low and production declined was that decadent ideas had not been duly criticized but had been utilized by the class enemy to conquer people's minds and corrupt the cadres and the masses. If we do not grasp class struggle in the ideological sphere in the countryside, we cannot exercise all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. Since the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius began, cadres and the masses have extensively and intensively criticized Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, the ideology of the reactionary, declining classes, and continued to encourage new ideas and styles of work of the proletariat. With Chiliying

brigade as the test point, we seriously studied and popularized Hsiaochin-chuang's experience. The various brigades set up evening political schools, established theoretical contingents of poor and lower-middle peasants, and constantly organized the broad masses to study politics and culture, stage revolutionary plays, sing revolutionary songs, tell revolutionary stories and carry out sports activities in order to have the socialist ideology dominate the rural cultural positions.

Chairman Mao pointed out recently, "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation." We must seriously study Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory and the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, understand why the proletariat should excise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, uphold more consciously the Party's basic line, and persist in taking the socialist road and in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must continue to unfold the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a widespread, penetrating and sustained manner, firmly occupy the rural socialist positions, grasp revolution and promote production, and win new victories in socialist revolution and construction.

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